PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

All-India Oriental Conference

TWENTYFIRST SESSION

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

October 1961

Vol. II Part II

Papers of the Sections

Edited by

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D.

President, Twentyfirst Session, A.I.O.C.

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PREFACE

The selected papers of three sections, Iranian, Islamic Culture, Arabic and Persian, of the XXIst Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, are issued now as Vol. II Part II of the Proceedings. Because of the nature of the subjects and the special typography needed, these Sections had to be separately printed at different Presses. Thanks are due to Sri Dorab H. Kanga and Sri M. F. Kanga, President of the Iranian Section, for arranging for the printing of the Iranian Section Papers at Bombay and to Sri Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, Reader in Arabic, Persion & Urdu, University of Madras, for arranging for the printing of the papers of the Islamic Culture and the Arabic and Persian Sections at the Nuri Press, Madras.

V. RAGHAVAN,

Madras,
12th Jan. 1965

President, 21st Session of the AIOC.

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SECTION II : IRANIAN

President : Dr. M. F. Kanga, Bombay.

1. A Critical study Chapter II of Epistle II of Manuščihr

2. Pahlavi *Astvīdhātīhā*

   Dr. H. K. Mirza.

3. Transcription, Translation of Dātastan—I Dēnīk Pursišn LXVI with Explanatory notes on important words

   Kaikusroo M. Jamsp Asa

4. Śatabhiṣa, Satavēsa, Fomalhaut and Agastya

   Dr. R. N. Vale

A CRITICAL STUDY OF CHAPTER II OF EPISTLE II OF MANUŠČIHR

Prof. M. F. Kanga

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:

Manuščihr Gōšnjamān wrote three Epistles (nāmakīhā) on the subject-matter of the Barašnūm Ceremony to be undergone by a person coming in contact with the dead: (i) to the faithful (vēhān) of Sīrkān in the South of Iran, (ii) to his brother Zātsparam, the high-priest of Sīrkān, (iii) to all the Zoroastrians in the province of Iran. From the Epistles it follows that Zātsparam wanted to do away with the law of the Barašnūm purification as described in Vīdēvdāt IX·1–36 and to utilise in its stead a simple fifteen-fold ablution for all kinds of contamination as mentioned in Vīdēvdāt VIII·99–103. As seen from these Epistles Manuščihr Gōšnjamān solved the problem by well-balanced arguments, tact, exhortation and persuation. For full details, see my paper on 'Life and Letters of Manuščihr Gōšnjam' in Prof. Poure Davoud Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1951 pp. 189–204.

I have followed the text edited by Ervad Dhabhar as well as the variants given in the footnotes. In my Transcription. I have prefered the readings of Mss. MR, MR_1 and J to Mss. W and BK and the points of difference have been shown in the footnotes to the Transcription. I have divided the text of this chapter into paragraphs and sentences according to the best of my judgment and have added marks of punctuations, which are lacking in the text edited. Ervad Dhabhar has edited the text of all the three Epistles mainly based on Mss W and BK in 1912 and has translated into Gujarati the same with notes wherever he deemed necessary in 1921. Dr. West has translated these Epistles of Manuščihr in English in the Sacred Books of the East Vol. XVIII in 1882. I have

differed from these learned authorities and the points of difference have been shown by me in the footnotes to the translation. This paper forms a part of my book on the Epistles of Manuščihr–the text in original script, critical apparatus, transcription, translation into English, notes and comments and a Critical Glossary'.

Signs

( ) indicate words inserted by the writer to round off the grammatical structure of the English translation or to make clear the sense

\+ + indicate that the word is corrupt

* indicate the theoretical form

< > indicate insertion in the text and translation as required by the context.

Transcription

(1) *Ut-am ān nipištak pat x^{v}artak nikirīt ut apēr apassaćak ō gōβišn ī*[1] *fražānakān ut dēn-ākāsān, ćē sax^{v}an saxtak bōžišn ut ō*[2] *nimāyišn aparvast. Ētōn sahom ku nē frēstēnišn*[3] *i apar ōγōn rās bē sa<h>mēnišn-ē i yōšdāsrgarān ōγōn nipišt, ku tāk ham sa<h>m rāδ apērtar škanīhēnd ut spurrīk undar kār dārišnīh i āp ut gōmēž pahrēć ut rōβišn ut kūnišn nīrang ī*[4] *ćēγōn kār passačak ō dastōβarān apērtar kūnēnd. Hać-ić ān apērtar sahom ku-tān hamdātistānīh x^{v}ēš-dahīšnīh ēn nimāyišn kart.*

(2) *Ka-m andar vičēr dīt ān ōγōn ī-tān nipišt ēstāt*[5] *ku yāvar-ē tāk yōšdāsrgar rasēt ī ōγōn šōδēt ćēγōn pat dēn*

1. Mss MR, MR_1 and J. add *ī*.

2. Text gives *nizōr* which Dhabhar reads *nuzūr* and translates "little". Better Ō-WL following MS. MR.

3. *frēstēnišn*-corrected. Text gives *p r s īt vēnišn*, which is read by Dhabhar pargast *vēnišn*.

4. so Mss. MR, MR_1 and J.

5. following Mss. MR, MR_1 and J; text gives ideogram for *ēstēt*.

paδtākīh,[1] hač bē ka yōšdāsrgar ī dēnīk hastīh hač-ič nīrang ī[2] šnāsakīh[3] ī Ēhrpat x^{v}atāδ paδtāk hač ham bē vičēr kār nēst; bē aδak-ič ōγōn nipēšišn kartan apēr saxtak nikīrišnīh, čē hač sa<h>m patgrišnīh ī yōšdāsrgarān ān vērāδišn apar x^{v}ēš xēm[4] ut rōβišn paδtāk kartan vas zīyān adātīh <ut> škift handēšišnīh i martōmān dū<š>-srōβīh i vičērgar hačiš zāδīhēt, ut ān sa<h>m vašk[5] i yōšdāsrgarān pat han rās handāxtan čēmīktar būt hēδ.

(3) Ān ī-tān nimūt čēγōn ka *dastūr[6] ēstēy, pat paδtākīh hēδ; ut-tān nipišt ēn mānāk ku hast i hač čāštak-ē aδvēnak ī[7] nē šāyēt, čē ētōn kūnišn ī kamist pat-ič čāštak-ē har nīrang andar ān kār šāyēt, mānāk passāčišn ō sax^{v}an i zūr patkārtārān mānāktar ut[8] nē druvist; čē ka hast i Mētyōkmāh x^{v}aptar hač čāštak i Aparaγ frārāst, x^{v}ap ka har nīrang-ē pat čāštak ī x^{v}ap; ut-aš nīrang nē vēš paδtāk ku bōžišn frārāst pat dārišn. Ō-č ān i ka Mētyōkmāh 3 bār šōδišnīk, Aparaγ ēvak-bār[9] šōδišnīk gūft, Mētyōkmāh pasēmār ut Aparaγ pēšēmār[10] ut ān nē[11] paδtākīh kūnišn tāk ka Mētyōkmāh bōxtēt apar ān dātistān gōβišn i Aparaγ dārišn pat bōxtakīh.

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1. So Ms. MR; text gives *paδtāk ī*
2. so MR. Text omits
3. following Ms MR; text gives *šnāsīh*
4. acc. to Mss MR, MR_1 and J; Text gives *xēmak, hēmak.*
5. words *u šak* joined together: hence *vašk* < *žašk*; cf. Dd. Purs. XXIII · 2; Purs. XXIV · 2: *girān žašk ut bēm i hač tār*; Epistle II. ch. 1.4 *žask*; Dd. Purs. XXXVI · 101 *čašāk* instead of *žašk*.
6. MR gives "*stūr*", which I have amended to *dastūr*, law, rule. Text gives *spurrīk*, complete, perfect.
7. MR adds *ī*.
8. MR_1, J. add *ut*
9. so BK; text gives *ēvakbar* on the basis of Ms. W; Mss MR, MR_1 and J *ēvbār*.
10. All Mss. give *pasēmār* for *pēšēmār*. Dhabhar suggests "better *pêsh-māl*"
11. following Ms. MR; text gives *rāδ*

(4) Ān i Aparaγ gūft ku dō yōšdāsrgar ō apāyēt, Mētyōkmāh-ič gūft ku ēvak vas; hač ān čēγōn-aš čāštak i[1] *Sōšāns ham-gōkās. pat ān i-š gūft ētōn ham-dātistāntar būt hēnd ku ka ēvak hast, ē šāyēt; čēγōn ham-gōkās-ič čand dastōβar paδtākēnīt bavēt,* x^v*at Aparaγ ut*[2] *apārīk ēhrpatān hamdātistān būt hēnd ku "bi*[3] *vīkayēhē" kār. Ān i*[4] *Mētyōkmāh bōxtak nē ē rāδ ku Aparaγ pat ēvakbār*[5] *šōδišnīk bōžišnīktar ut kār hač čāštak i Aparaγ kunišn, bē ēvakbār*[21] *šōδišnīk hač Aparaγ i pēšēmār*[6]*, <ut čāštak i> ēvak yōšdāsrgar hač Mētyōkmāh i vēš gōkās*[7] *patgrišn rāδēnišn.*[8]

(5) Ut starhangārān-ič astišn i axtarān hast ka ān i Mihr ut[9] *Māh hač zīk*[10] *ī Šahriyārān, ān i Kēvān hač zīk i Hindūk ut ān i Varharān hač zīk ī Ptalamayuš gīrēnd; astišn apēr* x^v*ap āyēt; ut zūr passāčišn an-ārangak apar āβōrtan gūft tōβān ku ēn astišn pat hēč*[11] *zīk ī nē šāyēt; čē hakar zīk i Šahriyārān druvist, hač ān čēγōn-aš Kēvān <ut> Varharān nē hač zīk kartan nē* x^v*ap. Dit*[12] *hakar zīk i Hindūk rāst, hač ān čēγōn-aš Mihr ut Māh ut Varharān nē*

1. so Mss MR, MR₁ and J. Text omits.

2. so MR₁

3. acc. to Mss MR, MR₁ and J; text gives BWWD. Ms. BK gives ideogram for Ir. *bē*. See Pahlavi Vend. Frakart VII · 43: *bivakayēhē*. ed. by Sanjana p. 122 l. 5; cf. Vendidād ed. by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp Asa p. 269.

4. so Ms MR; MR₁ and J *ān*; text omits.

5. so MR; rest *ēv·bār* as in the text.

6. on the basis of Mss MR₁ and J; text gives *pasēmār* following Mss W and BK.

7. MR gives *gōkās*; text gives *gōkā*; MR₁ gives *gōkāy*, *gōkē*.

8. so Ms. MR; text *rīδēnišn*.

9. MR₁ adds *ut*

10. This word *zīk* is written carelessly in the mss here and in the sections following as *nazdīk*, *zyīk*, *nazīk* and *zīk*. See Dhabhar's edition p. 63 f.n. 8 in this connection.

11. Corrected: text gives *ēst* written in Pahl. characters *īk īt* W.

12. Corrected. Text gives *tan* instead of ideog. *tanī*, Ir. *dit*. (Junker FrP. 118).

hač ān zīk kart nē x^vap. Hakar zīk i Ptalamayuš rāst, hač ān čēγōn-aš Mihr ut Māh ut Kēvān nē[1] *hač ān zīk kartan nē x^vap, kē rāδ*[2] *pat hēč zīk nē rāst. En sax^v<anv>aržišn passāxtan tōβān saxt mēnišn-ič virravēnd, bē rāstān ut dānākān vičēn kūnēnd <ut> gōβēnd ku ēn astišn apēr x^vap, čē ān i pat zīk <ī> Šahriyārān rāst-tar-ič*[3] *hač ān ī*[4] *Šahriyārān, <ān i pat zīk ī Hindūkān x^vaptar hač ān ī Hindūkān>,*[5] *ān ī*[6] *pat zīk ī Ptalamayuš x^vaptar hač ān i <Ptalamayušān> kart ēstēt.*

(6) Šmāk šnāsīt ku ham-gōnak ān hangōšītak ī 3 čāštak ī-tān nipišt, apāk ēn ī-m nēšānēnīt hangōšītak kartan <ut> handāxtan framāyīt tāk aβiš rōšn-tar dīt, hač hu-čašmīh i apar x^vēš bōžišn ut tēž vīrīh i an-ūskārtak apāk āhōk apāč nimūtārān hu-bahrīh ī pat ān i pēšēnīkān dāt ōstīk framāyēt pahrīxtan, čē kē aβdīh ut apartarīh ī ān pēšēnīkān ūskārtan ut vīnārtan ut mēnītan nē šnāsēt, x^vat dānišn andar ān ī pēšēnīkān xrat nē pat aδar ut āmūčišnīk dārēt, x^vēš tan mēnīh vēšīh-ič i pat x^vēš frahang hačiš paδtāk x^vēš tan dātistān čēγōn framāyīt šnāxtan.

TRANSLATION

(1) I observed that writing critically[1] and it is exceedingly unsuitable for the statement of the learned and those well-versed in the scriptures; for the statement is

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1. *nē* inserted. Dhabhar remarks: "All Mss. omit here LA by mistake" (Text ed. p. 64 f.n. 3).

2. so Mss MR, MR_1 and J; Text gives ideog. *lā* (Ir. *nē*) on the basis of Mss W and BK.

3. acc. to Mss MR_1 and J; text gives *rāst t-ič*

4. so Mss MR, MR_1 and J. They all omit RBĀ, ideog. for Ir. *vazurγ*. Text gives RBĀ = *vazurγ*.

5. inserted by me in the text

6. so Mss MR, MR_1 and J.

FOOTNOTES TO TRANSLATION

1. *pat x^vartak*, minutely, critically.

hard to be explained[1] and without encompassment[2] for[3] demonstration. I feel in such a way that it is thus written not in order to be sent[4] over such a course but in order to terrify[5] the *yōšdāsrgars*[6] so that they may be very exceedingly shattered on account of this fright and may very exceedingly perform the complete utilization of water and bull's urine, preservation, progress and the preparation of the ceremonial as is suitable for use for the *Dastōβars*[7]. Even from this I very particularly feel that you made this show of giving your own consent.

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1. *bōžišn*, *participium necessitatis* to be explained from inf. *bōxtan*, to explain, (2) to deliver. Cf. *bōžišnīh*. Ep. I. ch. 4. para 9; *bōžišn*. Ep. I. ch. 5. para 7; Ep. I. ch. 3. para 3; [illegible] *bōxtēt*, is explained. See para 3.

2. *a-parvast*, without being encompassed; *a-not*, and *parvast* from inf. *parvastan*, Av. *pairi* + √ *band*, to surround, to encompass. Dhabhar reads *aparvandēt* and translates "has exceeded the limit, has crossed the boundary. Cf. *parvast*. Ep. I ch. I 1; *parvast ēstāt*. Ep I. ch. I 2; *parvastak* Ep I. ch. 5. 1; *parvastan* Ep. II. ch. 9. 7.

3. Text gives *nizōr* which Dhabhar reads *nuzūr* and translates little comparing it with Ar. نزور *nuzur*.

I have followed the variant *ō* as given in Ms. MR.

4. Dhabhar has given the reading *pargast vēnišn*, which I have joined together into one word. Hence *frīstēnišn*, *participium necessitatis*, from inf. *frīstātan*, ideog ŠDRVNtn (unker, FrP. 6 1955 Edition). to send I translate 'in order to be sent'. Dhabhar translates 'pargast' by perhaps and *vēnišn* by view. opinion, intention. See the variant *ēnišn* for *vēnišn*.

5. *sa<h>mēnišn*: *participium necessitatis*, 'in order to terrify, with a view to entertain dread. from *sam* < *sahm*, fear + *ēn* denom. suff + *išn* suffix part. neces. See Salemann, Mid Pers. Gram.-tr into English by Bogdanov. p. 52'.

6. purifying priests, a technical term used by the Parsees; derived from *yōšdāsr*, Av. *yaoždāθra*- purification, √ *yaoždā*- (comp. verb. *yaož*, Skr. *yóṣ* + √ *dā*) to purify and *garān*, *pl* of *gar*, inf. *kartan* to do, meaning, performers, doers. Hence the phrase means 'the priest who performs the purificatory ceremony', 'he who cleanses the body ceremonially'.

7. *dastōβarān*- *pl* of *dastōβar*- lit. one who leads by the hand; dastur, high-priest. P, Horn (NP Ety 126-127) derives the word from √ *dans*- to be wise, comparing Av. *dạstvā*- Darmesteter (Et. Ir. I. 115) gives the original *dastabara*- having authority. Horn translates the word by "minister, person having authority "(Vertranter)"," instructions regulations (Vorschrift) See Hub chmann, Persische tudien S V. no 568 p. 63 Cf. khotanese dasta, skilled.

(2) When I saw in the mandate that which you had so written : 'upto a time when the purifying priest arrives who will so give ablution as is the manifestation by means of the religion'—unless (there is) the presence of a religious purifying-priest, owing to the knowledge of the ceremonial of (you) *Ēhrpat Xᵛatāδ*[1] which is well known, there is no use of this mandate. But even then the preparation of such a writing is a very severe stricture; for by entertaining fright to the purifying-priests, by evincing such corrective for your own dispositon and conduct immense harm, unlawfulness and a severe judgment of men as to the infamy of the mandate-giver are generated therefrom and it would have been very reasonable to cast such fear and dread[2] into the purifying-priests in another way.

(3) That which you so demonstrated that if there be the law[3] (of one thing) it would be by means of evidence and your writing is resembling to this that there is (something) which is from the teaching of one kind which is not proper; for it should be so done that every ritual in that work ought to be (performed) at least according to one teaching, resembling the composition more analogous to the statement of contenders for falsehood and it is not sound. For if it be that *Mētyōmāh's*[4] (teaching) is more proper than the teaching which *Aparaγ*[4] organised, it is

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1. lit. Lord of the *Ēhrpat-hērvad-priests*. This refers to Zātsparam, the younger brother of Manuščihr Gōšnjamān. Cf. NM. p. 79. l 3-6.

2. *vašk* < *žašk*, dread, anxiety. Cf. Dd. Purs. XXIII. 2. *bēm ut žašk* Purs. XXIV. 2: *girān žašk ut bēm i hač tār*; Epistle II ch. 1. 4: *bēš ut zarīk ut žašk ōγōn patmōčihēt*. Cf. NPers *čašk*. Ep. I. ch. III, 15 *bēš ut žašk bē ō dēl*. Dhabhar reads '*u šak*' and translates "and doubt".

3. Text gives *spurrīk*, complete, perfect and Dhabhar translates it accordingly. Ms. MR gives the reading *stūr* which I have corrected into *dastūr*, a law, rule, regulation. This corrected reading is followed by me in the text and the translation; else no sense can be made out of the sentence *čēγōn ka spurrīk ēstēy*.

4. name of the commentator; he is quoted in Pahlavi Vendidād, Nīrangistān, Šāyist-Nē-Šāyist etc

proper if every ritual (is performed) according to the teaching which is proper; and its ritual is no more proved than the explanation established in practice. Moreover, when *Mētyōkmāh* said three-fold ablution and *Aparaγ* one time ablution, *Mētyōkmāh* is latter[1] and *Aparaγ* is former;[2] and that is not the evidence which should be acted upon until *Mētyōkmāh's* (teaching) is explained[3] superior to the practice of the opinion and statement of *Aparaγ* with regard to elucidation.

(4) That which *Aparaγ* said that two purifying priests are requisite and *Mētyōkmāh* said that one (is) enough Since the teaching of *Sōšāns*[4] is a witness to his (teaching), they had become thus of the same opinion with what he had said that when there is one (purifying priest), know that[4] it is proper. Since the co-evidence too of several high-priests is evinced, *Aparaγ* himself and other priests were agreed that (one ought) to act (upon) "two evidences." [5] (The teaching) of *Mētyōkmāh* is explainable not for this reason that the one-time ablution of *Aparaγ* is most explainable and one ought to act upon

1. *pasēmār*: lit. one who gives response or answers in a law-suit afterwards, a defendant. *pas-* afterwards + *ēmār*, *āmār* account. Here in the context I have translated 'latter'. See Bartholomae, Zum Sasanidischen Recht I. tr. into English by Bogdanov in Cama Oriental Inst. Journal No 18 p. 22.

2. *pēšēmār*. lit. one who has the precedence of speech in the Court of Law in order to make his complaint, a Plaintiff. Sometimes these words are written *pasmār* and *pēšmār* respectively. Ibid p. 22. Here I have translated the word by 'the former'. Cf. in this connection Epistle I. ch. VI. 7-11.

3. *bōxtēt*, from inf. *bōxtan*, to save, to deliver, to explain, here *bōxtēt* = *bōxt ēstēt*, meaning, is explained. See *bōxtakīh*, elucidation, explanation. See note 2 above

4. *ē*, know that; some times *hat* is used in Pahlavi. See Javadia, ŠNŠ p. 7 para 10; Bailey, JRAS. Oct 1932. p. 974.

5. Av. word *bi vīkayēhē*, meaning "two evidences". Cf. Pahl. Vend Frakart VII. 43 com. edited by Sanjana p. 122 and edited by Jamasp Asa p. 269. See Glossarial Index of Vendidād by Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp Asa p. 59. In the Vendidad Commentary, it is written *bivakayēhē*. See *vīkaya* in NM. p. 29.

the teaching of *Apıray*, but (the teaching as regards) the one time ablution from *Apıray* who is prior[1] and (the teaching of) one purifying priest from *Mētyōkmāh* who (has) many witnesses should be accepted and put into practice.

(5) And the astronomers too take the position of the planets within the constellations,[2] those of the Sun and the Moon from the Royal Calendar,[3] that of Saturn from the Indian Calendar and that of Mārs from the Calendar of Ptolemy; the positions come off very well. In order to bring foreward false performance without doubt one can say that these positions are not proper according to any[4] Calendar; for if the Royal Calendar is correct, it is

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1. see note 2 on p. 8 above -*pēsēmār*.

2. *axtarān*, pl. of *axtar*-, zodiacal sign, constellation, star. Pers. *akhtar*, Av. *axtara*, Skt. नक्षत्र, Pāz. *axtar*-.

3. *zīk*, Pers. *zīk*, *zīg*, Manichaen *zyyg*. Calendar, astronomical chart or table. See Menasce, Škand Gumānik Vičār, Ch IV. 39, 43. p. 52 and Glossaire. p 290. In this para three '*zīk's* are mentioned - *Zīk i Šahriyārān*, Royal Calendar, *Zīk ī Hindūkān*, the Indian Calendar and *Zīk i Ptalamayūs*, Calendar of Ptolemy. Astronomers used to get the information about the Constellation from these three Astronomical tables, which were prevalent amongst the Iranians. '*Zīk i Šahriyār*' has been prepared by the Iranians and it was translated into Arabic by Al-Tamimee. According to Al-Biruni, the well-known Astronomer Habash, an inhabitant of Merv who dwelt in Baghdād, has prepared "*Zīč al-Šāh*" at the end of second century. '*Zīk i Hindūkān*' was translated into Arabic by Al Fazāree in 154 A.H. *Zīk i Ptalamayūš* was prepared by the Alexandrian Scholar of the 2nd century A.C. Ptolemaios-Ptolemy. "The μαθηματικὴ σύνταξις of Ptolemaios is intended in Dēnkart (DkM. 428.16) by *mgstyk i hrōmāy* 'the Roman μεγίστη', since his work was called the μεγάλη σύντξις and by the Syrians *mygysty*, *mgysty*, i.e., μεγίστη, whence the Arabs received their al-majisti". See Bailey, Zor. Prob. p. 80. For Dēnkart passage (DkM 428.15-429.8) and its translation. See Zaehner, *zūrvān*, A Zoroastrian Dilemma p. 139 and p. 145. For details on the Astronomical tables, see C. A. Nallino. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. XII. 95. (quoted by Prof. Menasce in Škand Gumānik Vičār p. 60)

4. *hēč*; I have corrected the reading of the text *ikēt*. Dhabhar seems to have read it as "*ēstēt*" and translates into Gujarati "stands".

not proper since Saturn and Mars are not counted[1] from its Calendar. Again (dit) if the Indian Calendar is correct, since the Sun, Moon and the Mars are not counted[1] from that Calendar, (it is) not correct. And if the Calendar of Ptolemy is correct, since (the calculation of) the Sun. the Moon and the Saturn is not made from that Calendar, it is not correct; on account of which nothing is correct according to any Calendar. This arrangement of argument[2] can be prepared (by those who) believe with a strict mind, but the truthful and the wise make a selection and say that these positions (are) very proper; because[3] that which is very accurate according to the Royal Calendar has been calculated from the Royal Calendar; that which is more proper according to the Indian Calendar has been calculated from the Indian Calendar and that which is more exact according to Ptolemy has been calculated from Ptolemy's Calendar.[3]

(6) You will recognise that in the same manner as that analogy of the three teachings which you have written you will condescend to compare and consider with this which I have marked so that you will look at it more lucidly; you will please abstain steadfastly from a good regard for your own explanation and sharp inteltect which (is) not in consultation with those who show (your)

1. lit. made. -*kart*.

2. *saxᵛan-varžiśn-* arrangement of argument; exercise of argument Dhabhar reads *sān-varzišn* and compares *sān* with Pers. *sān* "meaning", shape. rule law, custom, figure "and translates" figure (of position). Dr. West reads *sūkh-varzishn*, comparing with Pers. *sukh* and translates "auspicious work".

3. I have amended the text of last three lines of para 11 of Dhabhar's edition thus:

Čē ān i pat zīk ī Šahriyārān rāst-tar hač ān ī Šahriyārān, < ān ī pat zīk ī Hindūkān xᵛaptar hač ān ī Hindūkān> ut ān i pat zīk i Ptalmayuš xᵛaptar <hač> ān ī <Ptalmayuš> kart ēstēt.

For Dr. West's translatson of this para. see S.B.E Vol XXXVII. Introduction pp. XLVI–XLVII.

defects with a good lot[1] from the law of the Ancients; for whoever does not recognise the miraculusness and superiority of consultation, organisation and meditation of the Ancients and does not consider his own knowledge as inferior to the wisdom of the Ancients and as a student[2] how can be condescend to recognise his own opinion owing to personal vanity[3] and immensity of his own learning (which is) mauifest there from.

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1. reading *hu-bahrīh*. The word can be read *hanbārīh*, store, collection, from *ham* + √*bar-*, Skt. सम्+भृ, Pers. *anbārdan*, *anbāštan*.

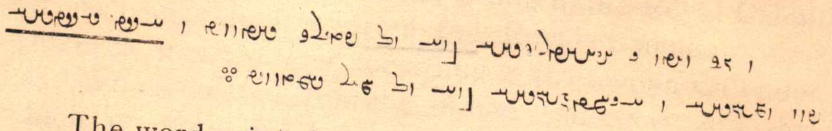
2. lit. relating to learning, pertaining to learning, to be learnt

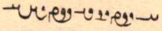
3. *x̌ēštan mēnīh*, lit. one's own arrogance, personal vanity.

PAHLAVI *ASTVĪDHĀTĪHA*

Dr. H. K. Mirza

The *Dātistān ī Dēnīk* Pursišn 24 describes the condition of the soul of a wicked person during the first three days and at the dawn of the fourth day after death when the soul passes away from this world and goes to the spiritual tribunal to render the account of the deeds done in this world. In this discription it is stated (*Dātistān ī Dēnīk*, edited by Ervad T. D. Anklesaria, page 52 lines 3–6) :



The word printed  in the sentence quoted above is obscure. It is explained as follows :

West, S. B. E. Vol. XVIII p. 56 : 'astō-sīstīhā shudderingly, with bones started'. In note 2 West observes. '– – – the rendering is doubtful'.

Evidently West sees here the root *saēd*– 'to split, to cut, to shatter'.

Anklesaria and Bharucha (Gujarati translation p. 50) : 'અટકી અટકીને, ઉભા રહેતા સાથે' (i.e. 'stoppingly, standingly, hesitatingly.')

Evidently the translators see in this word the root *stā*– 'to stand'.

The context is so very clear that the import of the word has been almost correctly guessed by the translators, but the reading and explanation thereof remain obscure.

According to the collation notes given by Anklesaria, the reading quoted above as printed in the text is found

in the Ms. TD. The other Mss. give the following variants thereof :

J_1. : [Pahlavi script]

J_2, H, DF. : [Pahlavi script]

K_{35}. : [Pahlavi script]

Taking into consideration the context in which the word is used, and pondering over the variants thereof, we may suggest that the form given in J_1 is nearer the correct form, and the variants thereof given in the Mss. are the corrupt forms. The word as given in J_1 may slightly be corrected to read [Pahlavi script] : *astvīδātīhā* — an adverbial form from *astvīδat*, Av. *astō-vīδōtu-*. See also Av. *astōbid-*.

The adverbial use of this Pahlavi word is unique, but so also is the style of the author of the *Dātistān i Dēnīk*. He employs a number of similes, uncommon compound words, and unusual expressions, which are found only in his works, with a view to making his language picturesque and impressive It is evident that the author uses this word in this context in its literal and root meaning of 'bone-brokenly', i.e., in the manner of a person whose bones are broken. The author wants to impress upon the mind of the readers that the soul of the wicked person, at the dawn of the fourth day after death, unwillingly and hesitatingly goes to render his account before the heavenly tribunal, walking like a person whose bones are shattered.

The word that follows *astvīδātīhā* is printed as two words : [Pahlavi script] pnn nymšnyh'; but the correct reading is [Pahlavi script] : *nipaδmišnīhā* 'sittingly' i.e., 'joltingly, hesitatingly', as very ably explained by Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, *Khareghat Memorial Volume* pp. 131–134; *Essays on Iranian Subjects*, pp. 128–132.

It appears that the following expression *akām-tačišn-īhā* 'unwillingly going' explains the meaning of the preceding unusual expressions.

Hence the correct reading of the sentence quoted above from the *Dātistān ī Dēnīk* Pursišn 24.5 would be :

> – – – *u gandak vāt ī apāxtarīkīhā bē ō patīrak āyēt u astviδātīhā nipaδmišnīhā u akām-tačišnīhā bē ō hamār rasēt.*

> '– – – and the stinking wind which is northerly comes against (i.e. confronts him), and he reaches (the place of rendering) the account in the manner of a person whose bones are broken, hesitatingly, and unwillingly going'.

So far as I am aware this is the only instance of the Pahlavi adverbial form *astvīδātīhā*, but, as said above, the author has special predilection for using unusual expressions and uncommon words, and the meaning admirably suits the context.

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION OF DĀTASTAN-I DĒNĪK, PURSIŠN LXVI

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES ON IMPORTANT WORDS

Kaikhusroo M. JamaspAsa

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS :

An attempt is made in this paper to transcribe, translate and comment on important words occurring in Dātastān-i Dēnīk, Pursišn LXVI. I have made use of the unpublished edited text of Dādestān-i Dīnīk, Part II (hereinafter referred to as Dd. II), containing Pursišn XLI–XCII and the Epilogue, *dissertation* submitted to the University of London, by Ervad Peshotan K. Anklesaria for his Ph.D. degree in 1958, and my thanks are due to him for leaving it at my disposal.

The complete translation of the text of the Dātastān-i Dēnīk, was prepared jointly by Ervad T. D. Anklesaria and Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha in 1868 in Gujarati, which was published in 1926,[1] after the sad demise of both the scholars. Dr. West also translated the text of the Dātastān-i Dēnīk in 1882.[2]

Dr. P. K. Anklesaria has made use of five Mss. for the edition of his text. Besides these Mss., he tried to search for Ms. BK, containing the text of the "Dātastān', (written in 941 A.Y. in Kerman and a direct copy of K 35),[3] but without success.[4] However, he has given a detailed description of the said Ms.[5], as given by Dr West in No. 13 of his unpublished volumes (now preser-

1. Ervad T. D. Anklesaria and Ervad S. D. Bharucha, "Dādastāne Dīnī-nō tarjumo", (in Gujarati), Bombay, 1926, pp. 219.

2. Dr. E. W. West, S.B.E. Vol. XVIII, 1882, pp. 276.

3. See West Vol. XIII, preserved in RAS in London, p. 305.

4. Dd. II, p. 3.

5. Ibid, pp. 17-21.

ved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London). An article titled "A provisional handlist of the late E. W. West's Papers" has been published by Rev. Fr. P. J. de Menasce in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.[1]

I am now pleased to bring to the notice of the worthy President and the delegates that the said Ms. BK has been recently presented, along with other Mss., to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Library, Bombay.

Regarding the style of Dastur Mānuščihr, author of the Dātastān-i Dēnīk, Dr. West remarked in 1882 that his style was "involved and obscure".[2] Dissenting from the remarks of Dr. West, Ervad B. N. Dhabhar remarks : "The habitual absence of stops and of diacritical marks, the strange character of the colloquialisms and idiom of the language, mistakes made by careless and ignorant scribes in copying the original Ms., and last, but not the least, want of sufficient available material all combine to perplex the translator and often baffle his attempts at the proper decipherment of the so called obscure text. As Haug has long ago said, Pahlavi is the most enigmatical language known to have existed. Mānushchihar has often tried to make himself properly understood by his numerous comparisons and similes *(angoshitak)* and apt quotations from previous writings, some of them being now no longer extant. Only in some cases, the picture presented by his similes is unfamiliar to the general reader. We also notice his fondness for repetitions where any marked effect is to be created. One characteristic of the language of Mānushchihar is his predilection for long compound epithets which are so numerous and varied as to constitute quite a feature in his style".[3]

1. See JRAS. April 1950, pp. 58-63.

2 West SBE. Vol. XVIII, Introd. p. xix.

3. Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, *Epistles of Mānushchihar*, 1912, pp. 17-18.

The Pursišn in question deals with the cause and the formation of a rainbow in the sky and it can be placed in the category of the chapters dealing with Natural Philosophy, Chapters LXVI–LXIX, XC–XCII.

The ideas contained in this Pursišn are similar to the scientific explanation of a rainbow :—

A rainbow "is seen when the sun shines on fine spray, clouds or falling rain. It is due to the dispersion of sunlight which on entering the minute particles of water suffers refraction and reflection".[1]

TRANSCRIPTION :

1. *66 – om pursišn u passa*x^v *ān i pursīt : Ku ēn stūn-ē*[2] *i pa āsmān parvandēt čē ast ?*

2. *Passa*x^v *ē ku : gomezišn i hač rošnīh i* x^v*aršēt ō nam u abr i-aš hamvar u handēmān. daxšak u*[3] *nimāyišnīh-ič i-aš pat-aš hač mēnōkān ō gētikān apar nišān i kamān vēnihēt.*[4]

3. *Ān i gētāhīk apar āp kē-š rošnīh awiš patrōkihēt u vas rošn dokānak*[5] *passāčihēt hač ān i vēš baharīhā u kam baharīhā gomezišnīh ⟨i⟩ rošnīh u āp mānākihēt*[6] *bahar-ē ō stūnak.*

TRANSLATION :

1. The 66th question and answer : that which you asked, what is this pillar (or column) which goes round in the sky ?

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1. T. K. Deolalkar, *Elements of Physics*, pp. 337.
2. Mss. [illegible] ; Henning's conjecture [illegible]
3. Dd. II [illegible] for [illegible]
4. Mss. [illegible] for [illegible] ⟨ı⟩ [illegible]
5. Corr. Henning; Mss. [illegible].
6. Dd. II [illegible] for [illegible]

2. The reply (is) this: (The pillar is) the mixing up of the light of the sun with the dew and the (rain) cloud which are its companion and harbinger. Its sign and even its appearance become visible thereby int he shape[1] of a bow from the spiritual world to the material world.

3. The worldly water upon which the light (of the sun) is reflected and many luminous (or bright) details are (lit. is) prepared; from the more proportionately and the less proportionately mixing of the light (of the sun) and water, is resembled a portion of a column.

NOTES:

stūn-ē—n. 'a column, a pillar, arch'; Av. *stŭna-* (AirWb. 1608); NP. *sutūn*. West *op. cit*, p. 210, reads *ditanoīh* 'appearance' and suggests that the word can alternately be read *sad·gunīh* 'a hundred coloured existence', "a possible term for the rainbow". Anklesaria–Bharucha *op. cit.*, p 167 'દેખાવ'. The word *stūn* also occurs in *Pah. Riv. Dd.* p. 111 where the arch is stated to be of various colours–white, yellow and black. The white is further explained as the creation of Ōhrmazd and as the 'helper of rain' *(ayyārīh i vārān)*. Cf. also Anklesaria, T. D. *Gr. Bd.* fol. 72r. 5–6.

: *parvandēt* – Pres. 3 p. sg. 'is encircled', fr. Av. *band-* (AirWb. 926) with *pairi* 'to encircle, to girdle, to encompass'. West *op. cit.* 'girded'; Anklesaria – Bharucha '[illegible]'.

: *hamvar* – n. 'companion, friend'; NP. *hambar* (Steingass, *Pers. Dict.*, p. 1508). Cf. Nyberg

1. *Lit.* sign, mark, token.

Hilfsbuch II, 98. West *op. cit.*, 'all times'; Anklesaria–Bharucha *op. cit.*, 'ખસુસન'.

[Pahlavi] : *handēmān* – n. 'harbinger, usherer, introducer'; fr. Av. *daēman-* (AirWb. 667) cf. [2]*dā(y-)* (AirWb. 724) with *han* 'to see face to face'. West *op. cit.*, 'seasons'; Anklesaria–Bharucha *op. cit.*, 'વખતની માપનીઓનો કરનાર'.

[Pahlavi]* : *kašotā* – n. 'bow, arc'; Ir. [Pahlavi] *kamān* (cf. Fr. Phl., 111). Mss. give [Pahlavi], [Pahlavi] and [Pahlavi]. The word [Pahlavi] is rightly suggested by Henning and it suits the context properly. West *op. cit.*, 'become'; Anklesaria–Bharucha 'ફાયદો'.

[Pahlavi] : *patrōkīhēt* – pres. pass. 3 p. sg. 'is reflected' fr. Av. *raok-* (AirWb. 1487) with *paiti* 'to shine, to light up, to kindle'. West 'is acceptable'; Anklesaria–Bharucha 'પ્રકાશવુ'. The base word [Pahlavi] is preserved in the Armenian LW. *badruyq* 'wick'.

'ŚATABHIṢA, SATAVAĒSA, FOMALHAUT AND AGASTYA'

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While studying the navigational significance of star-names and planets the word 'Śatabhiṣa' attracted my attention. On closer examination and enquiry, I could get some interesting results. In this paper, I intend to present them to scholars who would like to appreciate the applications of linguistics in the field of astronomy and social culture.

Sea-faring and navigation was practised on a very large scale in ancient India. Sea traffic with regard to passengers and merchandise, naval expeditions and warfare was continuous (R.V. 4.56.2; 10.101.2; 9,70.10; 3.32.14; A.V. 5.19.8; 1.48.3). God Varuṇa was the Sea-God (Samudriyaḥ) and was worshipped in times of emergency. He knew the path of ships and gave protection to shippers. (R.V. 1.25.7; 7.66.3; 7.88.3–4).

Constellation Śatabhiṣa, Śatabhiṣā, Śatabhiṣaj or *Śatabheṣaja, the name of the 24th nakṣatra, is governed by the God Varuṇa. It forms the part of the zodiacal sign Kumbha, Acquarius or the water carrier.

The word Śatabhiṣaj seems to have its origin in a prayer to Varuṇa :

'Śataṁ te rājan bhiṣajaḥ sahasraṁ .... R.V. 1.24.9. Sāyaṇa takes the word 'bhiṣaj' to mean either a medicine or a medical practitioner : 'auṣadhāni vaidyā vā santi.' This interpretation of his is however borne out by similar passages occurring in the Atharva Veda and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa :

'śataṁ hi asya bhiṣajaḥ' A. V. 2.9.3. and 'śataṁ yā bheṣajāni te' A. V. 2.3.2; 6 44.2. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa explains the word bhiṣaj by the word bheṣaja :

"kṣattrasya rājā varuṇo'dhirājaḥ. nakṣatrāṇām śatabhiṣag vasiṣṭhaḥ. tau devebhyaḥ kṛṇuto dīrgham āyuḥ. śataṁ sahasrā bheṣajāni dhattaḥ" Taitt. Br. 3.1.2.

'yajñaṁ no rājā varuṇaḥ upayātu. tanno viśve abhi saṁyantu devāḥ. tanno nakṣatraṁ śatabhiṣag juṣāṇaṁ. dīrgham āyuḥ pratirad bheṣajāni" Taitt. Br 3.1.2.

Hence it is possible to say that both the forms śatabhiṣaj ahd śatabheṣaja, with or without 'ja' ending in '–j', '–a' or '–ā' must have obtained in the early Indo-Aryan. But, in course of time, the form 'śatabhiṣaj' got currency and an etymological meaniug was given to it:

'yacchatam abhiṣajyan tacchatabhiṣak' Taitt. Br. 1.5 2.9 where hundred stars cling together that constellation is named Śatabhiṣaj.

The verbal from 'abeiṣajyan' fortunately preserves 'a' in 'abhi' * which was optional or lost in the Ṛgveda itself: 'bhiṣajyantam yadāturam' R.V. 8.22.10d. The source of the Kaṇḍvādi root √bhiṣaj, to heal giving both the words (1) bhiṣaj, a healer and (2) bheṣaja, a healing medicine is to be found here. The original root therefore must have been abhi + √saj or pre-Indo-Iranian abhi + √śaj, to cling, attend, attach. Long ago, Monier Williams had suspected the probability of the word bhiṣaj being derived from the root abhi + √saj, to attach, plaster*. In fact a doctor is ever attached to the king and the people.

The Avestan word 'satavaēsa' (m. phl: satvēs, sadvēs) meaning one central star attended by 100 servitors or healers corresponds to the Sanskrit word 'śatabhiṣa'. Phonologically speaking, Sk. 'bh' corresponds to later Av. 'w' (fricative) sometimes written as 'v' as in the case of Sk. 'abhi' which is represented in later Avesta as 'awi' = 'avi' = 'aoi' (vide art. 87 Avesta Grammar by A. V. Williams Jackson). Ordinarily the Sk. words bhiṣaj and bheṣaja are represented in Avesta as bisaz and baēsaza respectively. But taking into account the fact that 'b' in Gathic/Avesta corresponds to either 'b' or 'w' in later Avesta and that 'w' is sometimes written as 'v' there should be no difficulty in establishing a correspondence between

* though represented by the augment of the imperfect.

Sk. śatabhiṣa and Av. satavaēsa. The form śatabhiṣa is preserved in Indo-Aryan whereas the form śatabheṣa — satavaēsa seems to have been preserved in Avesta. That is all.

Its synonyms śata-tāra, śata-tārā and śata-tārakā are clearly of later origin. They are simpler substitutes for śatabhiṣaj, implying a configuration constituting hundred stars : śataṁ śatabhiṣāsu ca'.

Now, remembering the passage: 'kṣetrasya rājā Varuṇo 'dhirājaḥ; nakṣatrāṇ m śatabhiṣag vasiṣṭhaḥ' cited above we can imagine the sovereign status enjoyed by the asterism śatabhisaj. It seems to be the brightest (vasiṣṭhaḥ) amongst its 100 satellites, spread on a wider area on and below the ecliptic in the southern region of the sky. In his article on 'asterisms in Iranian Literature' in Cama Memorial Volume, Bombay 1900 (pp. 216–227) Shri Anklesaria had identified the fixed star 'Satavaēsa' with Fomalhaut, the lord of the southern heavens. Fomalhaut or Southern Fish is seen just below the water-vessel of the water carrier. It is at a distance of 22 light years and is 13 times brighter than our Sun. Its appearance for the first time at night-fall synchronises with the beginning of the fall of leaves, etc. in mid or late September at the commencement of the winter season. The natural phenomena observed on the appearance of the star Fomalhaut compare favourably with those that are ascribed to the star Agastya and not with those of the Egyptian Canopus as it has been believed by scholars hitherto.

In his article, 'The identity of some heavenly bodies mentioned in the old Iranian writings', Shri Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat (Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Volume, Bombay 1914, p. 116 to p. 158) has essayed to identify the star Satavaēsa with the Egyptian Canopus on the one hand and Agastya on the other, with a note of warning that undue importance may not be attached to the resemblance between the feats of Canopus and Agastya. He has also made it clear that there is no Avestan passage

to support such an identity. Evidently for want of more evidence the foundation of this identification has remained weak. So both Śatavaēsa and Agastya have nothing to do with Canopus. Of course, both Canopus and Fomalhaut belong to the Southern region but Canopus is located in the configuration of Argo Navis, to the south of Sirius or Ardrālubdhaka in the constellation Ardrā and is seen in the sky from February to May. That is why the description of the star Agastya obtained in the Mahābhārata, Raghuvaṁśa, Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the Matsyapurāṇa do not at all tally with those of Egyptian Canopus. The late Shri S. B. Dixit too was required to state that "now-adays water is purified two months after the rise of Agastya – Canopus" (vide Jyotirvilāsa p. 9) and to explain that this time-lag was due to the lapse of two thousand years since Kālidāsa made such an observation.

On linguistic grounds we could establish a correspondence between Śatabhiṣa and Satavaēsa; we could show that the star Canopus has little in common with the star Agastya; we could also show Śatabhiṣa or Satavaēsa has been already identified and identifiable with the star Fomalhaut; but we have not been able to finally decide as yet how Fomalhaut alone could be identified with Agastya and none else. In this respect, luckily, we have a piece of conclusive cultural evidence.

As a man, Agastya, the oldest seer of the Ṛgveda is described as the son of Māna (R.V. 1.165 to 191 : 'mānasya sūnuḥ' 'mānyaḥ' 'māndāryaḥ') having the Vidarbha Princess Lopāmudrā as his wife and Dṛḍhacyuta as his son. He has a god-father in Varuṇa but he is never described in early Vedic literature as born of a pitcher. The appellation 'Kumbhayoni' ('agastyaḥ kumbhasambhavaḥ' Amara 1.2.21) given by Kālidāsa and others appears to be after the sage attained the star-hood. The legend of this miraculous birth from the semen of Varuṇa and Mitra cast in a pitcher or the one by Urvaśī, appears to be an

after-thought intended to cast a mystery around his personality. It is meant, however, to describe the birth and the location of the star Agastya and not the sage Agastya. Astronomically, the star Fomalhaut is located just below the pitcher or the water-vessel of the configuration of the water carrier. In that position, it really appears to be born of the zodiacal sign Kumbha, the water carrier (cf. 'uttarā sūradharaḥ putra āsīt' R.V. 1.32.7). This distinguishing characteristic settles the identity of Fomalhaut with Agastya once for all. Incidentally this might serve a clue to find out when exactly the zodiacal signs or rāśis became current in India

Once we identify Agastya with Fomalhaut, the descriptions occurring in later Sanskrit literature can be explained naturally and consistently. The rise of the star Agastya synchronises with the limpidity of water (Ragh. IV.21: 'agastyodaye jalāni prasīdantītyāgamaḥ' – says Malli.) at the beginning of the Śarat season, on the 7th day of the second half of the month of Bhādrapada (vide Matsya 61). The star Agastya governs and adorns the southern direction. (vide MBh. Udyoga 143; Ragh. IV 44, Rajat. III.325; II 140, Bṛhats XII.1). The star Agastya is looked upon as the best healer giving longevity, safety and protection to a navigator.

The sage Agastya born in the latitude about 24° N. carried out all his missionary activities between 10° N and 10° S both on land and sea. He was a great engineer (RV. 1.179.6 'agastyaḥ khanamāna . khanitraiḥ .... as he carved out a way to the south by flattening the Vindhya mountain ; > aga, a mountain + √ styai, to spread about, flatten, decrease), a great navigator (R V. 1.184.6 'atāriṣma tamasaspāramasya....) and a typical coloniser (cf. the inscriptions in Kambudvīpa, yavadvīpa, barhiṇa-dvīpa, kuśa-dvīpa, etc.) in the South, beyond the Indian Ocean, and as such his name must have been unanimously given to the star Fomalhaut in order to perpetuate his memory for good.

SECTION IV : ISLAMIC CULTURE

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1. **Arab Sciences and their influence on the West with special reference to Medicine & Philosophy.**

   Dr. S. B. Samadi.

2. Authentic Quranic Reciters of Orissa.

   Lt. Col. Mirza Bismillah Beg.

ARAB SCIENCES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE WEST WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MEDICINE AND PHILOSOPHY

By

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There is no denying the fact that if we remove the Arabs from the history of the world, the human race would not have attained the present progress at all and perhaps we would have been living at least two centuries backward. A historian says that if we ignore the contributions made by the Arabs, the world progress in all directions would have been retarded to such an extent that our present modern civilization in every walk of life would not have attained its present stage at all. These Arabs formed a very important link in transmitting everything humane from the East to the West.

But before we take up the details of this discussion into consideration, let us define a few terms and also limit the scope of our present paper.

The term Arab is used here to denote one whose native language is Arabic, whose culture has been largely determined by the Arabian background, and whose attitude towards life will follow certain patterns which I shall try to define and describe. "If the use of Arabic is the criterion, one will find the Arab all the way from Morocco, along the coast of North Africa, throughout Egypt, Palestine, Syria, the Arabian Peninsula, and Iraq, and for two hundred miles up into Turkey."[1] Further, the Arabic speaking people and their contribution through the medium of Arabic language to all sorts of literature, Sciences and Arts come under this definition of contribution made by the Arabs. Here we have to draw a very fine distinction between the term Arabians and Arabs. The Arabians are those who were born and bred within the geographical limits of Arabia proper while the Arabs are all those who came under the direct or indirect influence of these Arabians so far as their religion, culture, government and all worldly progress go. But at the same time we have to admit that these Arabs had very limited and little to give in the fields of medicine and philosophy ; rather they took very much from others, particularly from the subjugated races in these branches

(1) J. V. Ess, Meet the Arab, (London, 1947), page 12.

of knowledge. Since we are going to discuss in detail certain aspects of practical sciences as developed by these Arabs, let us confine our scope of the paper to the extent of Arabs' contribution in the field of medicine and philosophy.

Now to start with we may say that the Arabians originally had no definite knowledge about the theories of medicine or the science of medical therapy itself. It is but natural that when people fall ill they try some sort of herbs and concoctations to cure themselves of their illness. The horizon of the Arabian knowledge in the field of medical therapy or surgery, it is said, was very much limited prior to the advent of Islam in the 7th century A.D. In Arabia proper people knew very little beyond the use of honey or a few ordinary herbs to cure themselves of maladies of all types and beyond cupping they were not aware of any other method to improve their health. Similar was the case in the field of philosophy too, where their conceptions regarding the truth about God or the creation of the universe were very rudimentary, As we have to limit the scope of this paper to only medicine, surgery and philosophy and the development of these sciences under the aegies of the Arabs, so let us confine ourselves within this circle.

To start with we may say that during the pre-Islamic days the cure of many ills was by means of witchcraft and sorcery as human progress had not taken those great strides which we find it taking almost a century after the advent of Islam. The needs of the people of Arabia were limited. They were in a very primitive stage of society and as a matter of fact we may conclude that there was nothing of importance at that time which we could attribute to these Bedouine Arabs of those days except a treasure of poetry cultivated by them to a very high pitch and almost personal in nature. This poetry of theirs was transmitted from generation to generation by oral recitations as they lacked the very rudiments of the art of reading and writing and therefore had no means except memorization and oral recitation to preserve their utterances. In due course of time they came into contact with other foreign nations which had progressed in civilisation and human thought e.g. the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Indians - who had developed a greater India extending up to the present day Indonesia and others and they could get an opportunity to considerably add to their meagre resources of information. Foreigners know very little about Arabia in the beginning of Islam or prior to it and Arabians themselves were too narrow in their mental equipment confining their needs only to certain very essential things of life.

After the advent Islam and the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D. Islam advanced in foreign lands with such a tremendous force that it was difficult to believe that the Arabs could make such an unusual progress within such a short time. Had anybody predicted during the early days of Islam that within a century or so the Arabs would be the masters of all the civilized world ranging from the Pyrenees bordering between Spain and France in the north west and extending up to the confines of China and the Sind towards the south and south-east, while at the same time taking into its circle such far flung places as north-east and North Africa and the coastal regions of the Atlantic in the south west - such a person indeed would have been considered to be a lunatic. But before attaining this marvellous achievement the Arabians had to master themselves. There is no doubt about it that prior to this they were cribbed, cabinned and confined within their own ideas and geographical limits. As soon as they came into contact with the all pervading forces cf Islam, which were trying to establish a casteless society and the world brotherhood, they had to shake off many prejudices and shortcomings of theirs. "As a matter of fact Arabia had to conquer itself before it could conquer the world." [2] This is not the place to discuss the political achievements of the historical periods of Islam, such as of Orthodox, Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. Our present paper has certainly much to do with the march of Islam into other lands, but to be brief, we may say that the real progress in the field of science by the Arabs was made after the subjugation of Spain in the year 711 A.D. by the Berber General Tariq ibn Ziyad, whose name is impressed on the spot where he landed in Spain and which still bears his name as it is called Jabal-al Tariq (جبل الطارق) i.e. Gibralter.

Muslim Spain wrote one of the brightest chapters in the intelletcual history of medieval Europe between the middle of the 8th and the beginning of the 13th century. The Arabic speaking peoples were the main torch-bearers of culture and civilization throughout the world, particularly in the West. They were the medium through which the ancient sciences and philosophy were recovered, supplemented and transmitted in such a way as to make possible the renaissance of the Western Europe in the fields of medicine, surgery, zoology, botany, physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, history, geography, mineralogy and biograpby. Arabs were supreme everywhere i.e. at the time when Arabic sciences such as astronomy and geography were beginning to penetrate the Latindom, they were also percolating China. Indeed

(1) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 142.

during the Yuan dynasty relations between the Muslims and the Chinese were multiplied considerably. The Chinese Astronomer, Kuo-Shou-Chings had probably some knowledge of Muslim mathematics and it was probably under Muslim influence that he ordered the determination of the coordinates of many points of the empire.[1]

The period of the Orthodox Caliphate is not of much importance so far as development of these sciences is concerned but the period of Umayyads is to some extent more valuable as certain sciences developed, particularly medicine, as we find the name of al-Harith ibn Kaladah of al-Taif, who studied in Persia and who was the first scientifically trained man in the peninsula and who won the honorary title of the "Doctor of the Arabians".[2] Besides him, there were a few others, mostly Greeks, Jews, or Persians under Umayyad regime who could be reckoned of some importance in this connection. The Arabs also devoted attention to alchemy and astrology, and translations of Greek books on the subject were ordered early in the Umayyad period. In a way we may say that the Umayyad period was the seed time for the cultivation of all sciences which were developed later on in the civilized world. When the stage of rendering translations of foreign works came to an end, the Arabs entered into another stage which was of creative and original nature. In alchemy, astronomy, mathematics, geography, in jurisprudence, philology and linguistics, Muslims of this period were of a very high order. Even in medicine and philosophy, two fields in which they derived their knowledge completely from the Greeks, they showed great progress. In any case the world has long acknowledged that if the Muslims had not discovered, assimilated, co-ordinated and elaborated, the works of Greek philosophers with useful commentaries and valuable contributions of their own, a great heritage of knowledge might have been lost to mankind for ever.

Before coming to the main topic, it would be better if we discuss the other sciences which developed during this period such as alchemy, which is considered the mother of modern chemistry; and the Arabs were the first people to devote attention to this science. The advance that they really made was in the introduction of the objective method in observation and experimentation in all sciences. In the study of chemistry and other physical sciences, the Arabs

(1) George Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. 2, part 1, page 44.

(2) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 254.

used the objective experiment, a decided improvement over the hazy speculation of the Greeks. It is admitted that they had one flaw in their method in that they did not systematize their findings into scientific theories on inductive lines, which was the method adopted in the 7th century by the Europeans. Rather they collected a lot of data and made some very useful discoveries. The first name in this connection comes that of Jabir ibn Hayyan, who was called 'the Father of Arabic Alchemy'. He flourished in al-Kufa in about 776 A.D. It is true that he spent many years of his life in conducting researches by which transmutation of metals could be made possible, but he also made great strides in the theory and practice of chemistry. He gave scientific explanations of the chemical process of calcination and reduction, improved the methods of sublimation, melting and crystallization and modified the Aristotelian theory of the constituents of the metals.

The second prominent personality of this very period was al-Razi (الرازی) who was the greatest personality in the field of medieval chemical sciences.

So far as astronomy is concerned, a lot of work was done in this branch of knowledge, as it was encouraged by the Caliph al-Mamun himself, who erected two observatories in Baghdad - one beside the Dar-ul-Hikmah (دار الحکمة) called Shammasiyah (شماسیة) and the other on Mt. Aqsiyun (جبل قاسیون) near Damascus. The scientific study of astronomy in Islam was begun, under the influence of an Indian work-the Siddhanta, brought to Baghdad in 771 A.D. and translated by Mohammad ibn Ibrahim al-Fazari. It was used as a model by later scholars. The names of Mohammad ibn Ibrahim al-Fazari and al-Battani are especially note-worthy; al-Fazari being the first Muslim to construct an astrolabe. Al-Mamun's astronomers calculated the length of a degree of the meridian quite accurately. This helped them to measure the circumference of the earth. Another astronomer Abul Abbas Ahmad al-Farghani erected an observatory a little later and wrote a book entitled 'Introdution to the Science of Astronomy' which was later on translated into Latin and even Hebrew. In 861 A.D. al-Farghani erected the Nilometer at al-Fustat. Under the patronage of a converted Jew, Sind ibn 'Ali and Yahya ibn Abi Mansur, the astronomers of al-Mamun not only made systematic observations of the celestial movements, but also verified with remarkably precise results all the fundamental elements of the Almagest (المجسطی), the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precision of the equihoxes, the length of the solar year etc.

As regards mathematics, the greatest Muslim name was that of al-Khwarizmi (الخوارزمی) whose real name was Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi, who was born in the reign of al-Mahdi. He is known to have compiled the first book on algebra in the world. His algebra was being used even as late as the 16th century in all European universities. It was through his works that the West adopted Arabic numerals, a great boon to mankind. All historians of science place al-Khwarizmi very high amongst medieval scientists, and indeed, his work dominated a whole century.

In connection with geography, we may say that the Muslims were fond of travelling. They had to perform the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and also the fact the orientation of the mosques is towards Mecca and there is the need for determining the direction of the Ka'aba at the time of prayer, so all this gave religious impetus to the Muslim study of geogeraphy. Trading was also an old tradition, almost an instinct with them. Now their interest in lands and their peoples was stimulated by their conquests. Travellers brought stories of the East and the West back to Baghdad. These stories must have been the basis of the imaginary adventures of Sindbad, the sailor, and of similar adventures in that wonderful book - the Arabian Nights (الف لیلة ولیلة). The report of the returning merchants naturally aroused popular interest in distant lands and alien people. Sulayman al-Tajir (the merchant) of Siraf on the Persian Gulf, the account of whose journeys into the Far-East was written by an anonymous* author[1] in 851 A.D. gives us the first Arabic description of China and the coast-lands of India. Later in 891 A.D. Ibn Wadih al-Yaqubi wrote his Kitab al-Buldan (کتاب البلدان) (a book of countries) which gave details of countries, their physical features as well as their economic back-ground.

In the field of geology, the main source of knowledge was Kitab al-Shifa' (کتاب الشفاء) by Ibn Sina, the so-called "Avicennae Mineralia" (Vol. 1, 133, 135, 711). Out of the many, a mention may be made of two important works - the first one translated from the Arabic by Gerard of Cremona, and the other by Alfred of Sareshel. The geological ideas of the great encyclopaedists, Vincent of Beauvais and Albert the Great were essentially derived from these works, especially from the "Avicennae Mineralia". When they explain

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* Abu Zaid al-Hasan. (?)

(1) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 383.

the movements of the sea, erosion, the generation of mountains, they are simply repeating the words of Ibn Sina or of the un-known author of De elements.[1]

Now we come to medicine. In medicine alone, the names of 'Ali iba Rabban al-Tabari, al-Razi, al-Majusi and Ibn Sina stand like high peaks of a big mountain. Besides these Arabs or so-called Arabs and also certain non-Arabs also contributed a great deal towards the development of the science of medicine. Such was the case with Yuhanna ibn Masawayh, who flourished from 777 to 857 A.D., and who was a Christian physician and a pupil of Jibril ibn Bakhtishu'. Failing to obtain human subject for dissection, a practice which was never encouraged by Islam, he had recourse to apes, one of which came from Nubia in the year 836 A.D. as a present to al-Mu'tasim. The science of anatomy was also developed as they were keenly interested to find out the anatomical structure of the eye. The prevalence of eye diseases in the sunny climate of al-Iraq and other Muslim lands concentrated early medical attention on this subject. Ibn Masawayh was the first who wrote a systematic treatise on ophthalmology extant in Arabic. In the recent years a book entitled al-'Ashr Maqalat fi al-'Ayn (العشر مقالات فى العين) (the Ten Treatises on the Eye)[2] has been published with an English translation. This book is considered to be the earliest existing text book on ophthalmology.

Arab interest in curative science found expression in the Prophetic tradition that describes science as of two kinds: Theology and Medicine. The physician was at the same time the metaphysician, philosopher and a sage and the title Hakim (حكيم) was indifferently applied to him in all these activities. In the curative use of drugs some remarkable advances were made at this time by the Arabs. It was they who established the first apothecary shops, founded the earliest schools of pharmacy and produced the first pharmacopoeia. Besides this pharmacopoeia several pharmacological treatises were composed, beginning with those of the world famed Jabir ibn Hayyan, the father of Arabic alchemy, who flourished about 776 A.D. The science of medicine was encouraged in the period of al-Mamun and al-Mu'tasim to such an extent that pharmacists had to pass some kind of examination. Like druggists, physicians also

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(1) Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science. Vol. II, part I, page 49.

(2) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 364.

were required to submit to a test. In 931 A.D. al-Muqtadir issued an order to examine all the practising physicians. In response to this order, 860 physicians entered into a test and all of them were examined with the help of Sinan ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah and a certificate (ijazah) (اجازه) was awarded to them. Later on these physicians were organized into small batches whose work was to visit the ailing persons in different localities. Such facts show an intelligent interest in public hygiene unknown to the rest of the world at that time. The first hospital of Islam was founded in Baghdad. With the help of this hospital, they raised the standard of medical profession. This hospital was created by Harun al-Rashid at the beginning of 9th century A.D. following the Persian model, as its Arabic name Bimaristan (بیمارستان) indicates. After this hospital about 34 other hospitals were established. Besides these hospitals, there were several mobile dispensaries. These hospitals were furnished intelligently and separate wards for ladies were also provided. Some of these hospitals possessed medical libraries and offered courses in medicine.

In the field of medicine, the name of 'Ali al-Tabari is quite prominent though by nationality he was a Persian but whatever he contributed to this science, that is all in the Arabic language. He flourished in the middle of the 9th century A.D. Sometime this fact is confused as certain writers mention about him that he was a Christian from Tabaristan. Anyhow he turned Muslim and became a physician to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, under whom he produced in the year 850 A.D. his Firdaws al-Hikmah (فردوس الحکمة), one of the oldest Arabic compendium of Arabic medicine. This work includes to some extent philosophy and astronomy and is based on Greek and Hindu sources. The second note-worthy personality who contributed a great deal to this science was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyah al-Razi, who flourished from 865 to 925 A.D. He also belonged to a Persian family of Tehran. He was the chief physician of the great hospital of Baghdad. He is also considered to have been the inventor of the seton in surgery. The Fihrist lists 113 major and 28 minor works by al-Razi, of which 12 deal with alchemy.[1] His Kitab al-Asrar (کتاب الاسرار) (the Book of Secrets) is considered to be one of the greatest works on alchemy, after having passed through numerous editorial hands it was rendered into Latin by the eminent translator Gerard of Cremona and became a chief source of chemical knowledge until superseded in the 14th century by Jabir's works.[2] The other

(1) Hilti, History of the Arabs, page 366.

(2) Ibid.

great work of al-Razi was Kitab al-Tibb al-Mansuri (كتاب الطب المنصوری) which he wrote for Mansur ibn Ishaq al-Samani of Sijistan. This book has also been translated into Latin and was published in Milan in 15th century. A portion of this book has also been translated into French and German. The first book on small-pox and measles was also written in the same year by al-Razi. These monumental works of al-Razi made him renowned in the world of medicine and he was considered as one of the greatest clinicians of Islam and of the middle ages. The prominence which he has gained is mostly due to his Latin and German translations, which are still considered to be the most valuable. The other important person who wrote a book on the science and practice of medicine was 'Ali ibn al-'Abbas, who later on became famous by the name of Majusi. His book al-Kitab al-Maliki (كتاب الملکی) secured a great position due to its original contributions, i.e. a rudimentary conception of the capillary system and a proof that in the act of perturition the child does not come out by itself but is pushed out by the muscular contractions of the womb.

The most prominent figure in the Arabic medical annals was Ibn Sina. In Latin he is popularly known as Avicenna. He fiourished between 908 & 1038 A.D. The Arabs called him al-Shaikh al-Rais (الشيخ الرئيس). He was born near Bokhara. His real name was Abu 'Ali al-Husain. His father, Abdullah, belonged to the Isma'ili sect. The major portion of his life was spent in the eastern part of the Muslim world and he also served and cured the Samanid Sultan of Bokhara, Nuh ibn Mansur. In recognition of his meritorious services he was permitted to use the ruler's remarkable library. At the age of 21 he started writing books on different subjects. He was not merely a physician but a philosopher too. He contributed a lot of work in Arabic language in his time. He was the writer of 45 books and these books were on different sciences, e.g., philosophy, medicine, geometry, astronomy, theology, philology and art etc. Beside these books he wrote several other minor books which total 99. Among his scientific works the two leading books are the Kitab al-Shifa' (كتاب الشفاء) (the Book of Healing) and al-Qanoon fi al-Tibb (القانون فى الطب). The former work is a philosophical encyclopaedia while the latter book represents the final codification of Greeco-Arabic medical thought. The Arabic text of the Qanoon was published in Rome in 1593 A.D. and was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the 12th century. Later on this work was translated into Hebrew and in recent years a part of this book has been translated into English. The book

distinguishes mediastinitis from pleurisy and recognises the contagious nature of pthisis and the spreading of diseases by water and soil.[1] This book gives a beautiful scientific diagnosis of ankylostomiasis and attributes it to an intestinal worm. The materia medica part of this book considers about 760 drugs. From the 12th to the 17th centuries this work served as the chief guide to medical science in the West, and it is still in occasional use in the Muslim East. One Dr. Oslor[2] is of the opinion that this work has remained a medical bible for a longer period than any other work.

Another remarkable physician of the first half of the 11th century A.D. was 'Isa ibn 'Ali. Of the 32 medieval Arabic works on Ophthalmology, his Tadhkirat al-Kahhalin (تذكرة الكحالين) (a note for oculists) is considered one of the oldest and most valuable works on the subject in Arabic language. This book describes 130 eye diseases. It was translated into Hebrew and Latin. The book is still being utilised in the East.

After discussing these individual Arab physician we shall now examine the general medical treatises, those which may be assumed to be more or less original. The most important of these treatises were written in the East by Muslims or by Jews, then with those of Western origin. The earliest physician we come across is Sa'id ibn Hibat Allah of Baghdad who flourished in the latter part of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. He wrote a medical summary the Mughni fi tadbir al-amrād (مغنى فى تدبير الامراض) and a discourse on the creation of man, Maqala fi khalq al-Insan (مقالة فى خلق الانسان), wherein a number of physiological questions are discussed. Certain other treatises were written in the 12th century by 'Adnan al-Ainzarbi, ibn Hubal and ibn al-Jawzi. 'Adnan originally belonged to Asia Minor but he spent many years in Baghdad. The others ibn al-Hubal and ibn al-Jawz were permanent residents of Baghdad. Ibn al-Hubal's work entitled Kafi fi 'Ilm al-Tibb (كافى فى علم الطب) and ibn al-Jawzi's work Lugha al-Manafi' fil-Tibb (لغات المنافع فى الطب) became popular in those days. To these Arabic trestises should be added those written in Persian, namely the immense Dhakhira al-Khwarizm Shahi (ذخيره الخوارزم شاهى) of 'Ismail al-Jurjani and the medical portions of the encyclopaedia of Fakhr al-din al-Razi. Najmuddin of Samarqand composed various Arabic treatises during the 13th century A.D. Among his works, his

(1) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 368.

(2) Ibid.

Kitab al-Asbab wal-'Alamat (كتاب الاسباب والعلامات) (the Book of Causes and Symptoms) became remarkably popular and it influenced the East for at least five centuries. Besides these Arabs, certain non-Arabs particularly the Egyptian Jews contributed a great deal to the medical treatises in Arabic language. Among these treatises Minhaj al-Dukkan (منهاج الدكان), Fusul fil Tibb (فصول فى الطب) and the Kitab al-Muntakhab (كتاب المنتخب) occupied prominent position during that period.

Among the writers of medical treatises the family of Ibn Zuhr secured a remarkable position. The two greatest members of this family Abul-'Ala Zuhr and his son 'Abu Marwan ibn Zuhr who flourished in the first half of the 12th century A.D. wrote many treatises on materia medica and at least one of a more general nature the Kitab al-Nukat al-Tibbiya (كتاب النكات الطبيه). His illustrious son Abu Marwan, is best remembered by the Taisir (تيسير), which was meant to be a sort of counter-part to the Kulliyat (كليات) of his friend Ibn Rushd.[1] The Taisir and the Kulliyat are the most valuable of their kind in medieval times.

A number of treatises on veterinary medicine were written in Sicily and possibly in Spain. The scope of these treatises was restricted to horses. The ailments of cattle and other domestic animals are briefly dealt with in the books on husbandry, those of hounds and hawks in the book on the chase and falconry.

As we are discussing medicine it will be necessary that we must be aware of the development introduced by the Arabs in the branch of Anatomy and Surgery. The practice of human dissections prepared the anatomical renaissance of the 14th century A.D. General medical treatises often contained an anatomical and surgical introduction. This was the case, for example, with Ibn Sina's al-Qanoon (القانون), which remained the medical bible of Christendom until modern times and of Islam until yesterday or even today. No doubt very little was contributed in the field of comparative anatomy. Anyhow Muslim and Jewish views on anatomy are found in their medical encyclopaedias ; they are simply restatements and elaborations of of Galanic and Abyssinian knowledge. A Jew, Hibat al-Allah ibn Malka, who had embraced Islam, composed a summary of Galenic anatomy under the title Ikhtisar al-Tashrih (اختصار التشريح). Another

(1) Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II, Part II, page 69.

Egyptian, 'Abd al-Latif, who flourished in the same century contributed a great deal to the science of anatomy as he has observed that the lower maxilliary[1] is made of one piece, not of two, and that the sacrum is generally consolidated into a single bone.

The science of surgery is very much related to anatomy. Surgeons needed a more intimate knowledge of anatomy than any other medical practitioner, and conversely the very exercise of their profession gave them opportunities of increasing their knowledge. The revival of the surgical science during middle ages was to a large extent a result of the Crusades. Therefore, we may say that War is the mother of surgery, but it took a considerable time for that result to be felt and for the new surgery to be developed.

As far as the Arabic surgery is concerned, we may say that it had become far better known through the translations of master-piece, the surgical part of Abul-Qasim's Tasrif (تصريف) by Gerard of Cremona. The Arabic surgery has been assimilated by European doctors gradually in proportion to the growth of their own experience. The more the Italian surgeons developed surgery experimentally, the more Arabic learning they were able to assimilate and to profit by. No doubt the original Arabic text is lost and its reality has even been doubted, but we have a Latin transtation or edition of it made by a certain European - a Hebrew - Faraj ibn Salim (فرج بن سالم). The most popular rather the only Arabic treatise on surgery of this period is the 'Umda fi Sina'at al-Jiraha (عمدة فى صناعة الجراحة) of Ibn al-Quff'[2] who was a Christian but his work is included in Arabic treasures. There is a strong probability that most of the surgery researched Latin Christendom only indirectly through the Arabic elaboration, the Kitab al-Baul (كتاب البول) written by an Egyptian Jew, Ishaq ibn Israili, about the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This book was translated into Latin by Constantine, the African, and later on it was translated into Hebrew. This book became so popular that a number of manuscripts of the same was prepared both in Latin and Hebrew languages.

In conclusion we may say that in the 12th and the 13th centuries, medical philosophy was determined by the writings of three great

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(1) Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II, Part I, page 72.

(2) Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II .Part I, page 75.

physicians of earlier days i.e. Hippocrates, Galen and Ibn Sina. This may create a confusion in our minds that in the past era there were no medical philosophers, but it was not so. There were several great medical thinkers but they were unfortunately overshadowed by these three great philosophers. Besides these three great philosophers, there were two more medical philosophers who flourished in the second half of the 12th century A.D. namely Ibn Rushd i.e. Averroes and ibn Maimun i.e. Maimonides. The former was a Muslim and the latter a Jew. In the end we may say that medical knowledge had enormously increased since the incorporation of the Arabic writings.[1]

After dealing with the science of medicine, let us come to the science of philosophy to which the Arabs contributed a great deal, and their work influenced the West to a great extent. No doubt, the Arabs obtained this knowledge through Greek works, but later on it was modified by the thought of the conquered people and by other Eastern influences, adapted to the mental proclivities of Islam and expressed through the medium of Arabic. These Arabs were of the opinion that the work of Aristotle is sufficient to represent a complete codification of Greek philosophical lore, as Galen represented Greek medical lore.[2] In the early stage of Islam, the Arabs were very much conscious about the religious duties. They, therefore, believed that the Quran and Islamic theology were the summation of the religious law and human experience. They were always after contributing whatever they could, to the religious philosophy. In the course of time, Arab authors came to apply the word falasifah (فلاسفه) or hukama (حكماء) (philosophers or sages) to those philosophers among them whose speculations were not limited to religion, reserving the term Mutakallimun (متكلمون) or Ahl al-Kalam (اهل الكلام) for those whose system was conditioned by subordination to some revealed religion.

In the field of philosophy we may refer to the three great Muslim philosophers – al-Kindi, al-Farabi and Ibn Sina.

Al-Kindi was a native of al-Kufa and was born in the middle of the 9th century, and flourished in Baghdad. His full name was Abu Yusuf ibn Ishaq. He was a man who was by blood an Arab and most probably he was the first and the last man who was a student of Aristotelian philosophy in the Eastern Caliphate. His system of philosophy is eclectic and is a fusion of the system of Plato and

(1) Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II, Part I, page 75.

(2) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 369.

Aristotle, with a strong element of Muslim mysticism. He had combined the views of Plato and Aristotle and regarded the neo-Pythagorian mathematics as the basis of all sciences. He is considered a philosopher of extra-ordinary merit. He was the writer of nearly 265 works, but unfortunately a major portion of his works has been lost. Some of his works were translated into Latin. The most popular translation in Latin is entitled De aspectibus, which influenced Roger Bacon. It is a peculiar thing that the work of al-Kindi is preserved in Latin and not in the original Arabic, and is mostly based on the translation of Gerard of Cremona.

The second Muslim philosopher, al-Farabi, was born during the reign of al-Mamun, in the distant province of Transoxiana. His real name was Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Tarkhan Abu Nasr al-Farabi. By blood he was a Turk but his work which he contributed to the science of Arab philosophy includes him in the line of Arab philosophers. He was educated under a Christian physician and a Christian translator in Baghdad and flourished as a Sufi at Aleppo in the brilliant court of Saifuddaulah al-Hamadani. He was respected all over the world for his commentaries and was known as the second teacher, the first being Aristotle. His system of philosophy as revealed by his several treatises on Plato and Aristotle, was a syncretism of Platonism.[1] He wrote numerous commentaries on Aristotle and other Greek philosophers. He also composed various psychological, political, and meta-physical works, among which his Risalat Fusus al-Hikam (رسالة فصوص الحكم) and the Risalah fi Ara' Ahl al-Madinah al Fadilah (رسالة فى آراء اهل المدينة الفاضلة) are more popular. Al-Farabi was very much impressed by Plato's work 'Republic', and Aristotle's Politics. Al-Farabi was of the opinion that the object of human social existence should be the happiness of the people, and it is considered that no better idea has yet been propounded. He wrote many philosophical and metaphysical treatises as well as books on medicine, mathematics and music. It is also said about him that he could draw tears from the eyes of those persons who heard his lute or he provoked them into fits of laughter.

As regards the third great philosopher viz., Ibn Sina, we have already discussed him in the field of medicine. Here we can say only this much that it was Ibn Sina, however, who placed the sum total of Greek wisdom, codified by his own ingenuity, at the disposal of the educated Muslim world in an intelligible form. With the help of Ibn

(1) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 371.

Sina, the Greek philosophical system, particularly of Philo, was rendered capable of incorporation with Islam. A school of philosophy was established in al-Basrah in 970 A.D. The scholars of this school were particularly interested in Pathagorian speculations, and were known as Ikhwan al-Safa (اخوان الصفا.). The appellation is presumably taken from the story of the ring-dove in Kalilah wa Dimnah (كليلة و دمنه) in which it is related that a group of animals by acting as faithful friends to one another escaped the snares of the hunter.[1]

The foregoing account relates to the development of Arab philosophy at Baghdad and as this centre decayed under the influence of the dismemberment of the vast Abbasid Empire, the centre of its gravity shifted to the north-west in Spain where prominent scholars came into existence, a few of which like Ibn Rushd and Ibn Maymun have already been referred to above. It is a fact that Muslim Spain wrote one of the brightest chapters in the history of World Civilization and to add a few more names of Spanish or Hispano-Arab scholars in this respect will be quite appropriate before we trace the influence of the Arab philosophy and other sciences on Europe.

Among the earliest philosophers of Arabic Spain was Soloman ben Gabirol[2] (Avicebron, Avencebrol), whose Arabic name as given by Sa'id is Sulayman ibn Yahya ibn Jabirul. He died in about 1058 A.D. and was referred to as the Jewish Plato on account of his Jewish extraction and profound erudition. He was the first great teacher of Neo-Platonism in the West. Muslim Philosophy received great backing by him and it was restored to Europe in re-Occidentalized form due to his efforts. His main work was Yanbu al-Hayah (ينبوع الحياة) (the fount of life). Translated into Latin in 1150 as Fons vitae, it played a great role in medieval scholasticism and inspired the Franciscan school. His another work Islah al-Akhlaq (اصلاح الاخلاق) has been edited and translated by Stephens S. Wise.[3]

In the 12th century A.D. the history of philosophy in Muslim Spain developed to a great extent because in this century we find such personalities as Ibn Bajjah (Avenpace, Avempace), who was a

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(1) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 372.

(2) Ibid, page 580.

(3) Stephens S. Wise, (New York, 1901).

philosopher, scientist, physician, musician, and commentator on Aristotle. He died about 1138. He exercised a powerful influence over Ibn Rushd also.[1] He wrote several works but the most important work which is still extant is a philosophical treatise entitled Tadbir al-Mutawahhid (تدبير المتوحد) (De regimine solitarii, the regime of the solitary). It is preserved only in a Hebrew extract. The importance of this book is to demonstrate how man unaided may attain to union with the Active Intellect. He was considered to be an atheist[2] on account of his sceptical theories.

Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Tufayl, (ابن طفيل) who followed Ibn Bajjah, carried forward the philosophical idea of the latter. Ibn Tufayl was considered an Aristotelian philosopher and was also the chief royal physician to the Muwahhid chief Abu Yaqub Yusuf (1163-84 A.D.). He resigned his post and was succeeded by his younger philosopher-friend Ibn Rushd. These two luminaries shed imperishable lustre on the court of the Muwahhids (1130–1269 A.D.) a dynasty puritanic in theology but liberal in its patronage of philosophy. Ibn Tufayl flourished in the 12th century. He died in 1185 A.D. in the Muwahhid capital Marrakesh, where his second patron the Caliph abu-Yusuf al-Mansur (1184-90) attended the obsequies. His masterpiece was an original philosophic romance entitled Hayy ibn Yaqzan (حي ابن يقظان) (the living one, son of the vigilant) which aims that the intellect of man has been derived from the Divine Intellect. The underlying idea was that human capacity unassisted by external agency may attain to the knowledge of the higher world and may find out by degrees its dependance upon a Supreme Being. This story, one of the most delightful and original in the literature of the Medieval Ages was first translated into Latin by Edward Pococke, the Jr., in 1671. The translation was published in Oxford together with the Arabic text, edited by Edward Pococke, the Sr. Several editions of the Arabic text appeared in Cairo and Constantinople by 1299 A.D. There is only one critical edition, that of Leon Gauthier (Algiers, 1900; Beirut, 1936) with a French translation. This work has been rendered into most European languages including Dutch (1672), Russian (1920), and Spanish (1934). It is said that the story of Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe has been transpired out of this book. The theory found in this work is

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(1) Ibn al-Usaybi'ah, vol. ii, page 63 makes, Ibn Rushd (b. 1126) ibn-Bajjah's pupil, which is incoherent in detail.

(2) Cf. Ibn-Khallikan, vol. ii, page 372.

evolutionary. Ibn Tufayl borrowed many of his characters from Ibn Sina's short and lifeless tale of the same title, but drew his inspiration from certain other earlier authors including al-Farabi.

The greatest of the most celebrated Muslim philosophers judged by his overwhelming influence on the West, was Hispano-Arab astronomer, physician and Aristotelian commentator abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn-Ahmad ibn-Rushd (Averroes). He was born in Cordova in 1126 A.D. and belonged to a distinguished family of Qazis. In 1169-70 he was himself Qazi of Seville and two years later of Cordova. After this he went to Marrakesh and succeeded Ibn Tufayl but in 1194 he was banished by al-Mansur, the Muwahhid ruler, on suspicion of heresy due to his studies in philosophy. Soon after this, he was recalled but in December 1189 he died and his tomb is still to be found at Marrakesh.[1]

The chief philosophical work of Ibn Rushd, the details of which have already been discussed, is Tahafat al-Tahafah (تهافة التهافه) (the incoherence of the incoherence) (Ed. Maurice Bouyges - Beirut 1930), which is a reply to al-Ghazali's attack on rationalism entitled Tahafut al-Falasifah (تهافة الفلاسفة) (the incoherence of the philosophers). He is best known on account of this work and unfavourably so, in the Muslim world. He was a commentator on Aristotle and has composed a scientific and philosophic work using some earlier writings as a background and frame-work. Being not satisfied with the translations of Aristotle's rendered into Arabic, he once opined that some of the theories of Aristotle should be allocated in a particular way which fact proved to be correct when the originals of Aristotle's work were found in Sicily and compared with the translations rendered at Baghdad. This revealed how correct Ibn Rushd was in his line of thinking about Aristotelian theories. His chief commentaries on Aristotle were a short Jami (جامع) (summary), and an intermediate Talkhis (تلخيص) (resumé) and a long Tafsir (تفسير) or Sharh (شرح) (commentary).[2] Most of ibn Rushd's commentaries have been preserved in Hebrew translations or in Latin translations from the Hebrew and only a few have survived in Arabic and even these are generally in Hebrew script.

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(1) Ibn-abi-Usaybiyah, vol. ii, pp. 76-7; ibn-abi-Zar', vol. i, pp. 135-6; ibn-Khallikan, vol. iii, p. 467.

(2) For a complete list consult Ernest Renan, Averroes et l'averroisme, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1861), pp. 58-79; Also Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 356-61. Cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 583.

Ibn Rushd generally produced no progeny in Islam. He belonged more to Christian Europe than to Muslim Asia. To the West he became "the commentator" or to quote Dante, "Averrois che il gran comento feo"[1]. As Aristotle was "the teacher", Ibn Rushd was "the commentator". From the end of the 12th to the end of the 16th century, Averroism remained the dominant school of thought. There is no doubt that Ibn Rushd was a rationalist and claimed the right to submit everything save the revealed dogmas of faith, to the judgment of reason, but he was not an enemy of faith. Ibn Rushd's philosophy involved a return to purer and more scientific Aristotelianism. After being purged of objectionable matters by ecclesiastical authorities, his writings became prescribed studies in the University of Paris and other institutions of higher learning. With all its excellences and all the misconceptions collected under its name, the intellectual movement initiated by Ibn Rushd continued to be a livlng force in the European thought until the birth of modern experimental science[2].

Last but not the least name comes of Ibn Maymun (Heb. Moseh ben Maimon, Latin Maimonides). He is also referred to as Mosheh Hazzaman, "the Moses of his time". A popular Jewish saying, "From Moses to Moses there was none like Moses (Maimonides)", expresses the eminent position he has ever held in Jewish estimation. He was most famous among philosophers of the whole Arabic epoch. Born in Cordova in 1135 A.D.[3] he settled in Cairo about 1165 A.D. where he became the court physician of the celebrated Salah al-Din and his son al-Malik al-'Aziz. From 1177 onwards he held the chief religious office of the Jewish community, (Arabic ra's al-millah, Heb. nagid) at Cairo where he died in 1204 A.D. His body was, according to his will, carried over the route once taken by Moses and was buried in Tiberias.[4] Incidentally ailing people found great relief by visiting his tomb and spending the night in the under-ground chamber of the synagogue of Rabbi Mosheh ben Maimon in Cairo. He was a very successful physician and also a surgeon. His most popular medical work was al-Fusul fi al-Tibb (الفصول في الطب) (aphorisms of medicine) but some of his theories regarding circumcission etc. are

(1) Inferno, canto iv, 1. 144. Also Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 583.

(2) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 583.

(3) His eight hundredth anniversary was observed throughout the civilized world.

(4) Hitti, History of the Arabs, page 584.

well-known. Most famous philosophical work of his bore the title Dalalat al-Ha'irin (دلالة الحائرين) (guide of the perplexed). It was edited in Hebrew characters and translated in French by Salomon Munk in 3 volumes and was published in Paris in 1156-66 A. D. In this work he tried to reconcile Jewish theology with Muslim Aristotelianism or in other words faith with reason. His philosophical ideas resemble those of Ibn Rushd though developed independently. His theory of creation was the atomistic one as distinguished from the two others held by Arab thinkers i.e. fundamentalists' theory and the philosophical one. The former relates to God as creator of everything and the latter was based on Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism. He wrote almost all his works in Arabic but in Hebrew characters which were soon translated into Hebrew and later in part in Latin. Their influence, far reaching in space and time, was exerted mainly over Jews and Christians. They remained the main principal medium through which Jewish thought reach the Gentiles. Modern critics detect traces of that influence in the Dominicans, as attested by the works of Albertus Magnus, in Albertus' rival, Duns Scotus, in Spinoza and even in Kant.

Toledo was the centre for the process of transmitting the treasure of the Arab sciences into the West. Here through the initiative of Archbishop Raymond I (1126-51) arose a regular school of translation where a series of translators flourished from about 1135 to 1284 A.D. The scholars were attracted from various parts of Europe, including the British Isles, whence hailed Michael Scot and Robert of Chester.[1] It was also in Toledo that the first school of Oriental Studies in Europe was established, in 1250 A.D. by the order of Preachers with a view to preparing missionaries to Muslims and Jews. By the close of the 13th century Arabic science and philosophy had been transmitted to Europe, and Spain's work as an intermediary was over. The intellectual avenue leading from the portals of Toledo through the Pyrenees wound its way through Provence and the Alpine passes into Lorraine, Germany and Central Europe as well as across the Channel into England. The first book printed in England, the Dictes and Sayengis of the Philosophers by William Caxton at Westminister in 1477, was based on Mukhtar al-Hikam wa Mahasin al-Kalam (مختار الحكم ومحاسن الكلام) by a Syro-Egyptian prince Abu al-Wafa' Muhashshir ibn Fatik,[2] d. 1053. Among the cities of southern

(1) See Charles H. Haskins, Studies in the History of Medieval Science, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1927) ch. i.

(2) It was edited by 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi (Madrid, 1958.)

France deserving mention are Marseille where Raymond in 1140 drew up planetary tables based on those of Toledo, Toulouse, where Hermann the Dalmatian completed in 1143 al-Majriti's translation of Ptolemy's Planisphaerium ; Narbonne, where Abraham ben Ezra translated in 1160 al-Biruni's commentary on al-Khwarizmi's tables ; and Montpellier, which in the thirteenth century became the chief centre of medical and astronomical studies in France. In eastern France Cluny, whose famous abbey housed a number of Spanish monks, during the 12th century, was a significant focus for the diffusion of Arab learning. Its abbot, Peter the Venerable (1141-3), sponsored the first Latin translation of the Koran, besides various pamphlets directed against Islam. Arab science, introduced into Lorraine (Lotharingia) in the 10th century made that region a centre of scientific influence in the following two centuries. Liege, Corze and Cologne, among other Lotharingian cities, provided the most fertile soil for the germination of Arab learning. From Lorraine it radiated into other parts of Germany and was transported into Norman England by men born or educated in Lorraine. Embassies between German kings in the north and Muslim rulers in Spain were frequent and intellectually fruitful. As early as 953, Otto the Great, king of the German, sent as an envoy a Lotharingian monk, John by name, who resided in Cordova for nearly three years, probably learned Arabic and brought back with him scientific manuscripts.[1]

Thus we find that Spain became a source of intellectual awakening in the modern world and without the Arabs being an intermediary, perhaps nothing could have been possible and the modern civilization either would have been an orphan or it would not have come into existence at all. It is after a millennium that the centre of learning shifts from West to East or from East to West. So this happened in this case also because in the 10th century A.D. Baghdad was the centre of learning which transpired Muslim Spain also and now in the 20th century A.D. we find Europe to be dominating over Asia. Let us wait and see what the next move is.

(1) Hitti, History of the Arabs, pages 589-90.

قرائے اڑیسہ

از

مرزا بسم اللہ بیگ، بی. اے. (حیدرآباد)

اڑیسہ کے علاقہ میں پہاڑیون کا سلسلہ ہے جنکے درمیان وادیان ہیں۔ جنگل کثرت سے ہے۔ تین ندیان درمیان سے جنوب کی جانب بہکر خلیج بنگال میں گرتی ہیں۔ انمیں جنوبی ندی مہاندی ہے۔ پہاڑیون کے سلسلے نے۔ وادیونکی بہتات نے۔ جنگل گھنا ہونے سے درندون کی کثرت نے۔ نیز ندیون پر پختہ پل نہونے۔ اور پختہ سڑکون کے فقدان نے اس علاقہ کو بقیہ ہندوستان سے الگ تھلگ رکھا۔ صرف ایک بنگال ناگپور ریل کا راستہ ہے جس سے آمد ورفت کی سہولت ہے۔ وجوہ بالا کی بناء پر اڑیسہ کی آبادی بہت مختصر رہی۔ نیز دوسرے صوبون کے مانند یہہ صوبہ ترقی بھی نہ کرسکا۔ اس علاقہ کی زبان اڑیا ہے۔ سنہ ۱۹۴۷ع میں یہ الگ صوبہ قرار دیا گیا۔ اسمیں پانچ ریاستیں بھی تھیں جو اب صوبے میں ضم ہوگئی ہیں۔ ان ریاستوں میں سب سے بڑی ریاست وجیانگرم کی تھی جہان کے راجہ گجاپتی انندراج اپنی علمی قابلیت کیلئے ممتاز رہے ہیں۔ اڑیسہ میں دوسرا اہم شہر پوری ہے جسمیں جگناتھ کا مندر ہے۔ اڑیسہ کا پایہ تخت ایک عرصے تک کٹک رہا ہے۔ مگر اب بھوبھنیشور کو پایہ تخت بنا کر از سرنو عمارات کی تعمیر عمل میں آرہی ہے۔ یہان کے قدیم باشندے

دراوڑی تھے جنکو بھیا سوارہ - گونڈ اور کھونڈ کہا جاتا ھے - آریاؤن کے آمد کے بعد بھی دراوڑی حکمران بر سر اقتدار اس علاقه میں رھے - اور اندرونی علاقه متاثر نهوسکا - اسلئے اونکی زبان موسیقی - کلچر یه سب اپنی خصوصیات رکھتی ھیں -

تاریخی پس منظر

قبل مسیح کالنگا کی حکومت گنگا سے لیکر گوداوری تک رھی ھے اوسی میں اڑیسه شامل رھا - سنه ۱۵۰ قبل مسیح اشوک نے اس علاقه کو فتح کیا مگر بعد ازان پھر کالنگا کا تسلط ھوگیا سنه ٦١٠ع (بعد مسیح) میں مگدھ کے راجه نے فتح کیا - سنه ٦٤٠ع میں ھرشاوردھانا نے تسلط جمایا - دسوین و گیارھوین صدی عیسوی میں شاھان کیسری نے حکومت کی اور بھوبھنیشور کے شیوا منادر انھیں بادشاھون کی یادگار کہی جاتی ھیں اونکے بعد کالنگا نگر کا چورا گنگا کا خاندان برسر اقتدار آیا - یهه وشنو دھرم کے معتقد تھے اور پوری کے منادر انھیں کی یادگار ھیں - یہاں بدھ مت او جین مت کے بھی آثار ھیں جب مسلمانون کا تسلط بنگال پر ھوا تو یہان کے راجاؤن سے جنگ کا سلسله شروع ھوا - سنه ۱۳٦۱ع میں فیروزشاہ تغلق نے بذات خود اس علاقه پر حمله کر کے قبضه کیا - سنه ۱٤۳٤ع میں سورج بنسی خاندان کا کپی لاسور دیوا نے اپنا تسلط جمایا - اور جنوب کی جانب ایک بڑے علاقه پر حکمرانی کی - اونکے جانشینون کی لڑائیاں گولکنڈے کے قطب شاھیون سے بھی ھوتی رھیں - اسکے بعد ایک عرصه تک اس علاقه میں آپس کی جدال وقتال رھی - سنه ۱۵٦۸ع میں سلیمان کرانی

والی بنگال کے جنرل کالا پہاڑ نے مکنددیو کو شکست دے کر اپنا قبضہ جمایا ۔ اوسکے بعد سنہ ۱۵۹۲ ع تک یہہ علاقہ بنگال کے پٹھان بادشاھوں کے زیرنگیں رھا ۔ سنہ ۱۵۹۲ ع میں اکبر نے راجہ مان سنگھ کو بھیجکر اس علاقہ کو سلطنت مغلیہ میں ضم کرلیا ۔ اورنگ زیب کے زمانے میں دوصوبیدار عدل و انصاف و رحمدلی کیلئے مشہور رھے ۔ اونمیں سے ایک اکرام خان تھے جنھوں نے کٹک کی جامع مسجد تعمیر کرائی ۔ دوسرے شجاع الدین محمد خان تھے جنھوں نے مسجد بالا کی مرمت و توسیع کراکے دوسری مساجد بھی تعمیر کرائیں اور شہر کٹک کو آباد کرنے میں حصہ لیا ۔ مغلیہ سلطنت کے زوال کے بعد یہہ علاقہ صوبہ بنگال کے تحت رھا ۔ مگر مرھٹوں کے حملے مغرب سے ھوتے رھے ۔ حتی کہ سنہ 1751 ع میں علی وردی خان نے یہہ علاقہ ناگپور کے بھونسلا راجہ کے حوالے کردیا ۔ جنکا تسلط سنہ ۱۸۰٤ ع تک رھا ۔ مگر مرھٹوں نے حکومت کو مستحکم بنانے کی کوشش نہ کی ۔ صرف لوٹ مار ھی ھوتی رھی ۔ سنہ ۱۸۰٤ ع میں یہہ علاقہ ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کو مل گیا تو یہاں امن کی صورت نکلی ۔ سنہ ۱۸٦۵ ع میں پھر سنہ ۱۸٦۷ع میں پھر سنہ ۱۸۹۷ع میں اور پھر سنہ ۱۹۰۰ ع میں چار زبردست قحط پڑے ۔ جن سے بڑی تباھی ھوئی ۔ سنہ ۱۸٦۵ع میں مہاندی کی ایک نہر نکالی گئی ۔ جسکی توسیع سنہ ۱۹۰۳ع میں ھوئی ۔ جو ساڑھے تین میل لمبی تھی ۔ اس نہر سے کچھ علاقہ سیراب ھوتا ھے ۔ دونون جانب کی کھیتیان شاداب ھیں بنگال ناگپور ریلوے کی وجہ سے آمد و رفت میں مزید سہولت ھوگئی ۔

اس تاریخی پس منظر کو بتلانے کے بعد اب ہم تعلیمی مراکز کا ذکر کرتے ہیں اڑیسہ میں قراءت کے دو بڑے مرکز (الف) سنگھڑا اور (ب) کٹک تھے - پہلے سنگھڑے کے حالات سن لیجئے .

سادات سنگھڑا

کٹک سے ۲۲ میل جانب جنوب و مشرق ایک قصبہ ہے جسکو سنگھڑا کہتے ہیں - یہہ علاقہ مہاندی کی نہر سے سیراب ہوتا ہے اسلئے زرخیز ہے یہاں سادات کا ایک خاندان عرصۂ دراز سے آباد ہے - کہا جاتا ہے کہ اکبر کی والدہ مریم مکانی بیگم جب حج کیلئے گئیں تو کربلاے معلی سے سادات کے ایک خاندان کے تین بھائیوں کو ساتھ لائیں - بڑے کا نام سید محمد، دوسرے کا نام سید قاسم اور تیسرے کا نام سید ہاشم تھا - سید محمد کو دھلی کی جامع مسجد کا امام مقرر کیا - سید قاسم یو-پی کی جانب نکل گئے - اور سید ہاشم بنگال ہوتے ہوے اڑیسہ کی طرف آئے - اور سنگھڑے میں قیام کیا - یہہ بزرگ اپنے ساتھ قدم رسول لائے تھے جو اب کٹک میں زیارت گاہ ہے - سید ہاشم کو سنگھڑے میں ۹۰۰ بائی زمین دی گئی (ایک بائی ۲۰ ایکڑ کی ہوتی ہے) جسکی سند کی توثیق شجاع الدین محمد خان نے اور بعد ازان لارڈ کارنوالس نے کی - بعد ازان نہر آنے سے یہہ خطہ زرخیز ہوگیا - اسکے محلے رسول پور - دریاپور - بھالی پور - کود - جگناتھ پور - رامکا پور - پائیکرا پور - لکٹی - نہنگ - بھوریا - بستی پور - دہ پارہ - سال جنگ - دلاول پور - کسمبی محی الدین پور - وغیرہ ہیں - سادات سنگھڑا کی آبادی

ڈھائی ہزار ہے اور مسلمانون کی تعداد دس ہزار ۔ تقریبا اسی قدر ہندو بھی آباد ہیں مگر آپس کے تعلقات بہت اچھے ہیں ۔ نہر کی وجہ سے دھان کی کاشت ہوتی ہے ۔ اس علاقہ میں علم کا بڑا چرچا رہا ۔ ایک عرصہ تک فارسی اس علاقہ کی مقبول زبان رہی ہے ۔ جسکو مسلمان ہندو سبھی سیکھتے تھے ۔ باہمی ربط و ضبط وثقافتی تعلقات اچھے تھے ۔ چنانچہ اگر نماز یا اذان میں غلطی ہوتی یا صبح میں الصلاۃ خیر من النوم کوئی موذن نہ کہتا تو ایک ہندو بھی ٹوک دیتا کہ غلطی ہوئی ۔ یہاں ایک کہاوت مشہور ہے کہ سنگھڑے کا کوا بھی فارسی دان ہوتا ہے ۔ جس سے اس علاقہ کی تعلیمی دلچسپی کا پتہ چلتا ہے ۔

یہہ دیہاتی علاقہ کبھی کبھی باہر کے مبلغین کا بھی آماج گاہ رہا ہے ۔ کبھی تعزیہ داری سواریاں بٹھانے کا زور رہا تو مولانا محمد حسن خان جو نعیم اللہ بہرانچی کے مرید تھے (اور نعیم اللہ بہرانچی حضرت میرزا مظہر جانجانان کے خلیفہ تھے) یہاں تشریف لائے اور ایک عرصے تک قیام کرکے سنگھڑے کو رسومات سے پاک کیا ۔ کبھی قادیانی مبلغین نے آکر اپنا ہم خیال بنانا چاہا تو مولانا محمد اسمعیل صاحب کی منظم کوشش اور سعی پیہم ومناظرون سے اونکا زور کم ہوا ۔ کبھی دیوبندی علما کے اثرات غالب رہے ۔

مدرسہ اسلامیہ عربیہ

سنہ ۱۹۴۸ ع میں ایک عربی مکتب قائم کیا گیا ۔ سنہ ۱۹۵۲ ع سے مولانا محمد اسمعیل صاحب نے اس مدرسے میں دلچسپی لینی شروع کی تو اب یہہ صوبے کا واحد بڑا مدرسہ ہے جہاں

عربی - فارسی - اردو کی تعلیم مفت دیجاتی ھے - مدرسۂ دیوبند کا نصاب پڑھایا جاتا ھے - یہاں فی الوقت (سنہ ۱۹۶۰ ع میں) دو سو طالب علم پڑھتے ھیں - اونمیں سے تیس طلباء دوسرے صوبوں کے ھیں۔ خور و نوش کا انتظام مدرسے کی جانب سے ھوتا ھے خوش حال مسلمان مدد کرتے ھیں - سات اساتذہ ھیں جنمیں سے کئی قاری ھیں - چار پانچ سو روپیے ماھانہ کا خرچ ھے - یہاں سے تکمیل کے بعد طلباء کو دارالعلوم دیوبند بھیج دیا جاتا ھے - اس مدرسے کو مدرسۂ نظامیہ حیدرآباد دکن سے بھی قریبی ربط رھا ھے - اور یہاں کے اکثر علماء حیدرآباد ھی کے فارغ التحصیل ھیں جنکا ذکر بعد ازین آئے گا - قصبہ سنگھڑے میں جو قراء ھوئے اونکے نام یہہ ھیں -

قاری ملا عبد الوحید

وطن سنگھڑا - ولادت سنہ ۱۲۵۰ ھ یو-پی میں تعلیم پائی تجوید و قراءت کے جاننے والے تھے - سنگھڑا کے خطیب بھی تھے بہت سے شاگرد بنائے - سنہ ۱۳۲۲ ھ میں انتقال ھوا -

قاری سید احمد مدنی

وطن مدینہ منورہ ولادت سنہ ۱۲۵۹ ھ ابتدائی تعلیم مدینہ منورہ میں ھوئی - تجوید کے اچھے جاننے والے تھے - مدینہ منورہ سے حیدرآباد دکن آئے - پھر سنگھڑا آکر قیام کیا - بہت سے شاگرد ھوئے - تجوید کا اچھا ماحول بن گیا - سنہ ۱۳۲۱ ھ میں انتقال ھوا - اونکے بھتیجے قاری حافظ عبدالمجید ھونہار تھے مگر جوانی میں اونکا انتقال ھوگیا -

قاری سید امین اللہ

وطن سنگھڑا - ولادت سنہ ۱۲۷۷ھ مدرسہ نظامیہ حیدرآباد دکن سے فارغ التحصیل ہوئے - واپس آکر سنگھڑے میں درس جاری کیا - خوش الحان قاری تھے - ۳۵ سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۳۱۲ھ میں انتقال کیا -

قاری عبد الرءوف

وطن سنگھڑا - ولادت سنہ ۱۳۱۲ھ سہارن پور جاکر مظاہر العلوم میں تعلیم حاصل کی - قاری عبد الخالق سے تجوید سیکھی - واپس آکر سنگھڑے میں تجوید کا درس جاری کیا - شاگردوں میں (۱) مولانا محمد عمر (۲) مولانا محمود النبی اچھے مجود تھے - ۲۷ سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۳۳۹ھ میں انتقال کیا -

قاری مولانا محمد عمر قاری عشرہ

والد کا نام حاجی سید عبد الرحمن - وطن سنگھڑا ولادت سنہ ۱۳۱۸ھ قاری عبد الرءوف صاحب سے تجوید سیکھی - پھر مظاہر العلوم جاکر قرات عشرہ کی تکمیل کی - تیس سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۳۴۸ھ میں انتقال ہوا -

قاری مولانا محمود النبی قاری عشرہ

والد کا نام محمد اسمعیل - وطن سنگھڑا - ولادت سنہ ۱۳۲۵ھ پہلے قاری عبد الرءوف صاحب سے تجوید سیکھی - پھر مرادآباد جاکر قاری محمد عبداللہ (عرف اللہ بندہ) سے قرات عشرہ کی تکمیل کی - سنگھڑا واپس آکر تجوید کا درس جاری کیا - ۲۹ سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۳۵۴ھ میں انتقال ہوا -

قاری سخاوت حسین

وطن سنگھڑا ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۳۲ ھ ۔ دار العلوم دیوبند جاکر علوم کی تکمیل کی ۔ قاری حفظ الرحمن صاحب کے شاگرد تھے ۔ مولانا اشرف علی صاحب کے صحبت یافتہ تھے ۔ فارغ التحصیل ہونے کے بعد سنگھڑا واپس آکر تجوید کی تعلیم دی ۔ چالیس سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۳۷۲ ھ میں انتقال ہوا ۔

قاری فضل الرحمن

والد کا نام عبد الصمد ۔ وطن سنگھڑا ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۳۰ھ مرادآباد جاکر علوم کی تکمیل کی ۔ قاری محمد عبداللہ صاحب سے تجوید و قرات سیکھی ۔ خوش الحانی سے پڑھتے تھے سنگھڑا واپس آکر کچھ عرصے تك درس دیا ۔ ۲۷ سال کی عمر میں سنہ ۱۳۵۷ ھ مین انتقال ہوا ۔

قاری مولانا محمد اسمعیل

والد کا نام سید محمد خلیل مرحوم ۔ وطن سنگھڑا ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۳٤ ھ ۔ مرادآباد جاکر قاری محمد عبداللہ صاحب سے مدرسہ شاہی میں تجوید سیکھی ۔ دار العلوم دیوبند سے سنہ ۱۳۵۰ ھ میں سند لی ۔ قاری عبد الوحید دیوبندی سے بھی تلمذ رہا ۔ ایك روایت کے جاننے والے ہیں ۔ نہایت مستعد ۔ کار گذار ۔ جفاشعار ۔ ذہین و خوش بیان ہیں ۔ ایثار و قربانی کا بڑا اچھا نمونہ ہیں ۔ قادیانیوں سے اکثر مناظرے کرتے رہے ۔ فی الوقت (سنہ ۱۳۷۹ ھ میں) سات سال سے ناظم مدرسۂ اسلامیہ عربیہ سنگھڑا کے فرائض

انجام دے رہے ہیں۔ مجھ سے سنہ ۱۹٦۰ع میں کئی گھنٹے ملاقات رہی۔ بڑی دلچسپ گفتگو فرماتے ہیں۔ دیر تک گفتگو سنکر بھی آدمی سیر نہیں ہوتا۔ طبقہ علماء میں ایسے خلوص و ایثار کے لوگوں کی بڑی ضرورت ہے۔ بڑی حسرت سے صاحب موصوف نے فرمایا کہ سنگھڑے کی بدقسمتی تھی کہ اوسکے قراء کم عمری میں انتقال کرگئے۔

قاری مولانا محمد اسحاق

والد کا نام سید غلام آل عبا۔ وطن سنگھڑا۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۲٤ھ۔ تعلیم پہلے سنگھڑے میں پائی۔ قاری عبد الرؤف صاحب سے تجوید سیکھی۔ بعد ازان مرادآباد جا کر مدرسہ شاہی میں شریک ہوئے۔ قاری محمد عبد اللہ صاحب سے تجوید سیکھی۔ ایک روایت کے قاری ہیں۔ مرادآباد میں فقہ و اصول و معقولات کی تعلیم پائی۔ اب سنگھڑے میں مدرسہ اسلامیہ میں فقہ و اصول و منطق کی تعلیم دیتے ہیں۔

قاری احمد النبی

وطن سنگھڑا ولادت سنہ ۱۳۲۷ھ۔ مرادآباد جا کر علوم کی تکمیل کی قاری محمد عبد اللہ صاحب سے تجوید کی سند لی۔ اب سنگھڑے میں درس دیتے ہیں۔

قاری عبد الماجد

وطن سنگھڑا۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۳۵ھ۔ دار العلوم دیوبند جا کر علوم کی تکمیل کی۔ قاری حفظ الرحمن صاحب سے تجوید

سیکھی - ایک روایت کے جاننے والے ھیں - خوش الحانی سے پڑھتے ھیں -

قاری حافظ عبد الشکور

والد کا نام محمد یسین - وطن سردھا پور - ضلع پری ولادت سنہ ۱۳۵٤ھ - دار العلوم دیوبند سے علوم کی تکمیل کی - حفظ و تجوید کی تکمیل قاری حفظ الرحمن سے کی - سنہ ۱۳۷٦ھ میں سند لی - قاری حفظ الرحمن کی سفارش پر مدرسہ اسلامیہ عربیہ سنگھڑا میں سنہ ۱۳۷۸ھ میں شیخ التجوید ھوکر آئے - خوش الحانی سے پڑھتے ھیں - طلباء کو سکھلانے میں مستعدی کا اظہار کرتے ھیں -

قاری حافظ عبد السلام

وطن کندراپاڑہ - کٹک - ولادت سنہ ۱۳٤۰ھ نابینا ھیں - سہارن پور جاکر حفظ و تجوید و دیگر علوم کی تکمیل کی - قاری عبد الخالق صاحب سے عشرہ قرات کی سند لی - تکمیل کے بعد پانچ سال میرٹھ میں تجوید و حفظ کا درس دیتے رھے - اوسکے بعد اپنے وطن کندراپاڑہ آگئے - اب وھیں درس دیتے ھیں -

سنگھڑا کے علاوہ دوسرا مرکز تعلیم و قرات کٹک ھے - کٹک عرصہ دراز تک اڑیسہ کا پایہ تخت رھا ھے - یہان بابرکت اشخاص کی وجہ سے اسلامی مدرسے قائم رھے - مولوی مکرم علی صاحب نے جو تاجر تھے ایک مدرسہ مکرم العلوم کے نام سے قائم کیا جسکا خرچ سات سو روپیے ماھانہ تھا - یہان اچھے عالم وقاری جمع تھے - مگر اب یہہ مدرسہ بند ھوگیا ھے مولوی مکرم علی

مرحوم کے تین فرزند اچھے عالم و فاضل ہوئے ۔ جنکا ذکر بعد ازین آئیگا ۔ کٹک میں دوسرا مدرسہ مدرسۂ اسلامیہ ہے جسمیں قاری سید محسن علی درس دیتے ہیں تیسرا مدرسہ مدرسۂ سلطانیہ ہے جسمین قاری عبدالرشید درس دیتے ہیں ۔ چوتھا مدرسہ مدینۃ العلم جامع سے ملحقہ ہے ۔ جسمین یتیم خانہ بھی ہے ۔ ان چارون مدرسوں میں عربی و دینیات کی تعلیم ہوتی ہے ۔ تجوید کی تعلیم کا بھی اچھا انتظام ہے ۔ علاوہ ازین پانچ مسجدیں ہیں جہاں اچھے قاریان امام ہیں ۔ کٹک کے قراء کے تفصیلی حالات درج ذیل ہین ۔

قاری محمد عبد الغفار

والد کا نام محمد عبد الرحمن ۔ وطن کٹک ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۰۱ھ قاری مولوی کلیم الدین سے پھر قاری محمد حسن سے تجوید سیکھی ۔ اڑیہ بازار کی مسجد میں ۱۶ سال تک امامت کی ۔ پھر اجالے خان کی مسجد میں تیس سال تک امامت کی ۔ اب سردار خان کی مسجد میں سنہ ۱۳۷۵ھ سے امامت کررہے ہیں ۔ ایک روایت کے جاننے والے ہیں ۔ اونکے فرزند محمد عبد المنان جامع مسجد بالوپور میں امام ہیں ۔

قاری حافظ عبد الرشید

والد کا نام منشی عبد الغنی ولادت ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۳۱۶ھ علوم و تجوید کی تکمیل کے بعد ۳۸ سال سے یعنے سنہ ۱۳۴۱ھ (مطابق سنہ ۱۹۲۱ع) سے کٹک کے عربی مدرسہ مدرسہ سلطانیہ میں درس دیتے ہیں ۔

قاری سید برکت اللہ

والد کا نام مولوی سید مکرم علی تاجر۔ وطن کٹک۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۲۶ھ والد سے علوم سیکھے۔ الہ آباد جاکر مولوی محمد حسین تلمیذ قاری عبد الرحمن مکی سے تجوید سیکھی پھر قاری محمد عبد اللہ مرادآبادی سے قرات عشرہ کی تکمیل کی۔ اب کٹک میں درس وتدریس کا سلسلہ ہے۔

قاری حافظ محسن علی

والد کا نام سید مبارک علی۔ وطن کٹک۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۲۷ھ۔ مرادآباد کے مدرسہ شاہی میں حفظ و تجوید کی تکمیل بروایت حفص کی۔ قاری محمد عبد اللہ صاحب استاذ تجوید تھے اور حافظ محمد نور صاحب حفظ کے استاذ تھے۔ کٹک واپس آنیکے بعد جامع مسجد کے امام مقرر ہوئے ۲۴ سال امامت کی۔ سنہ ۱۳۷۵ھ سے مدرسہ اسلامیہ کٹک میں حفظ و تجوید کا درس دیتے ہیں۔ شاگردوں میں ممتاز (۱) حافظ ممتاز علی (۲) حافظ محمد حسن (۳) حافظ عبد الحمید (٤) حافظ امام بخش مرحوم (٥) حافظ حبیب اللہ (٦) حافظ وسیم الدین ہیں۔

قاری عبد الرب ترکی قاری سبعہ

وطن مرادآباد۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۲۹ھ۔ پہلے مرادآباد میں اور پھر الہ آباد میں درسیات کی تکمیل کی۔ سبعہ کے قاری تھے مختلف مقامات پر تجوید کا درس دیتے رہے۔ سنہ ۱۳۵۱ھ میں کٹک بھی آئے تھے۔ اوسوقت قاری حافظ قمر الدین نے اون سے

تجوید سیکھی - پھر جامع حبیبیہ الہ آباد چلے گئے - اب تک وہیں ہیں -

قاری سید نعمت اللہ

والد کا نام مولوی سید مکرم علی - قاری سید برکت اللہ کے چھوٹے بھائی - ولادت سنہ ۱۳۳۱ھ - والد سے علوم سیکھے - مدرسہ مکرم العلوم میں تجوید سیکھکر مختلف مساجد میں ذکر و شغل میں مصروف رہتے ہیں -

قاری ابرار الحق

وطن ہردوئی ولادت سنہ ۱۳۳٤ھ - دار العلوم مظاہر العلوم سہارن پور سے فاضل ہوئے - قاری عبد الخالق سہارن پوری سے تجوید سیکھی - مولانا اشرف علی صاحب کے خلیفہ مجاز ہیں - ہردوئی میں ایک عربی مدرسے کے مہتمم ہیں - قاری سید معین الاسلام نے آپ سے تجوید سیکھی -

قاری سید معین الاسلام

والد کا نام ڈاکٹر محمد صدیق - وطن سنڑا - کٹک - ولادت سنہ ۱۳۵۵ھ - دار العلوم دیوبند سے فارغ التحصیل ہوئے - تجوید قاری محمد نعمان سے اور پھر قاری ابرار الحق سے سیکھی - سنہ ۱۳۷۷ھ سے کٹک کے مدرسہ سلطانیہ میں تجوید کا درس دیتے ہیں -

قاری محمد معین الدین

والد کا نام محمد قطب الدین - وطن موضع دھام نگر ضلع بالیسر اڑیسہ ولادت ۱۳٤۳ھ - ابتدائی تعلیم الہ آباد - پانی پت -

امبالہ ۔ بہارشریف میں ہوئی ۔ الہ آباد میں حافظ عبد الوحید سے
تجوید سیکھی ۔ عربی درسیات کی تکمیل مدرسہ اسلامیہ بہار
میں کی ۔ سنہ ۱۳۶۸ ھ سے پلٹن کی مسجد میں امام ہیں ۔

قاری حافظ ابرار الحسن قاری سبع قرآت

والد کا نام کمال الدین ۔ وطن موضع دینگر پور ضلع مرادآباد
ولادت سنہ ۱۳۴۷ ھ ۔ ابتدائی تعلیم کے ساتھ حفظ و تجوید کی
تکمیل جامع نعیمیہ مرادآباد جامع حبیبیہ الہ آباد ۔ مدرسہ اسلامیہ
میرٹھ میں ہوئی ۔ قاری عبد الرب صاحب سے الہ آباد میں قرات
سبعہ کی تکمیل کی ۔ اپنے قرآن شریف پر اختلافات سبعہ حاشیہ
پر اور بین السطور لکھ رکھے ہیں ۔ ۱۳۷۹ ھ سے جامع مسجد
کٹک کے یتیم خانہ مدرسہ مدینۃ العلم میں تجوید و حفظ سکھلاتے
ہیں ۔ طالب علم بھی خوش الحانی سے پڑھتے ہیں ۔ جوان صالح
و منکسر المزاج ہیں ۔

قاری حافظ سید قمر الدین

والد کا نام سید سراج الدین ۔ وطن بھدرک ضلع بالیسر اڑیسہ ۔
ولادت سنہ ۱۳۴۹ ھ قاری مولوی عبد الرب ترکی جب کٹک آئے
تھے تو اون سے تجوید سنہ ۱۳۵۲ ھ میں بروایت حفص سیکھی ۔
سنہ ۱۳۵۳ ھ میں کٹک میں قدم شریف کی مسجد میں امام مقرر
ہوئے ۔ سنہ ۱۳۵۱ ھ سے جامع کے یتیم خانے میں قرات و حفظ
کا درس دیتے ہیں ۔

قاری حبیب اللہ

والد کا نام مولوی سید امانت اللہ ۔ قاری برکت اللہ صاحب کے برادرزادے ۔ وطن کٹک ۔ ولادت سنہ ۱۳۶۱ ھ ۔ کلکتے میں مدرسہ عظمتیہ میں تجوید کی تعلیم ہوئی ۔ آپکے استاذ قاری حافظ عبد القوی صاحب ھین ۔ ابھی سلسلہ درس جاری ھے ۔

اڑیسہ جانے کے پہلے مجھے بالکل توقع نہ تھی کہ اس صوبے میں اتنے عربی مدارس ہونگے ۔ اور تجوید کے اتنے ماہر نظر آئینگے ۔ مگر اللہ کا شکر ھے کہ اوسنے اپنے کلام کے خدمت گزار ھر جگہ بڑی تعداد میں رکھ چھوڑے ھیں ۔ جو صرف خوشنودی باری تعالی کی خاطر اپنے کام میں لگے ہوئے ھیں اور اس سے بالکل مستغنی ھیں کہ اونکو معاوضہ کیا ملتا ھے ۔ اللھم اوسع رزقھم ۔

SECTION V: ARABIC AND PERSIAN

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1. Fani Kashmiri: His Life and Works
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4. Sarfi
   Prof N. L. K. Talib

5. Wasil Kashmiri
   Dr. Md. Shamoon Israeli

FANI KASHMIRI - HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By

Dr. S. A. H. Abidi

University of Delhi, Delhi.

Mulla Sh. Mohd. Muhsin, pen-named Fani, was the pupil of Mulla Yakub Sarfi,[1] and Mulla Wasil, and was the teacher of Ghani Kashmiri[2] and Salim Kashmiri.[3] He was also the disciple of Sh. Muhibhullah Allahabadi[4] and a courtier of Prince Dara Shukuh[5]. In praise of Dara Shukuh and of his spiritual guide he says :

فانی که سجدهٔ در دارا شکوه کرد
دیگر سرش فرود به هر در نمی شود

* * * *

هفت گردون خلوتی از خانقاه پیر ماست
از گدا تا شه مرید پیر عالم گیر ماست

The author of the Miratul-Khayal says, "He was a thoroughly skilled person and was a man of position and saintliness and was also pleasant in conversation and company."[6]

In the beginning Fani was in the service of Nadhr Mohd. Khan[7], the ruler of Balkh, but afterwards he entered the service of Shah Jahan,[8] and became the Sadr (Chief Judge). It is said that later on, when Murad Bakhsh[9] defeated Nadhr Mohd., there was found in the library of the latter a copy of Fani's Diwan which contained qasidas in praise of Nadhr Mohd. and so Fani was dismissed from his post but was permitted to receive a pension. After his dismissal, Fani began to lead a retired life in Kashmir :

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1. d. 1013 A.H. (1605 A.D.) 2. d. 1079 A.H. (1668-9 A.D.)
3. Haji Mohd. Aslam, d. 1119 A.H. (1707-8 A.D.) or 1130 A.H. (1717-8 A.D.) 4. d. 1058 A.H. (1648-9 A.D.)
5. d. 1069 A.H. (1658-9 A.D.) 6. P. 166 7. d. 1060-1 A H. (1650 A.D.) 8. 1037-69 A.H. (1628-58 A.D.)
9. d. 1072 A.H. (1662 A.D.)

فانی آخر منزوی در گوشهٔ کشمیر شد

گرچه جائی خوشتر از شاه‌جهان آباد نیست

In Kashmir Fani used to spend his time in teaching; and the nobles of the place used to visit him regularly. The name of Fani's house was "Hauz Khas".

When Zafar Khan Ahsan [1] went to Kashmir as governor, Fani was very pleased:

بهار گلشن کشمیر باز رنگین شد

که ابر فیض ظفر خان کامگار آمد

but later on they had a disagreement. Fani was in love with a dancing girl named Niji, who was loved by Zafar Khan also. When she did not respond to Zafar Khan, he satirized both Fani and Niji:

خفته را بیدار سازد بار دامان نجی

مرده را در جنبش آرد بوی انبان نجی

لقهٔ حیض نجی شد شمله و دستار شیخ

رشتهٔ تدبیر او شد بند تنبان نجی

Fani in his turn lampooned Zafar Khan:

گو ظفر خان داغ شد امشب که فانی این غزل

در اله آباد پیش قدر دانی خوانده است

It is said that Fani had to leave Kashmir and take refuge in Delhi.

Fani had a great love for Kashmir:

در بهار گلشن کشمیر فانی هر طرف

جز شراب ناب شمع مجلس احباب نیست

---

1. d. 1073 A.H. (1662-3 A.D.)

and compared to that the climate of India was not to his liking.

در کتابتهای کشمیر از زبان آه سرد

شکوه ها از کوی هندوستان می باید نوشت

* * * *

فانی از بخت سیاهت شده در هند وطن

ورنه جای تو بجز گوشهٔ کشمیر نه بود

* * * *

هوای برشگال هند خوش آمد مرا لیکن

نسیم نوبهار کابل و کشمیر می باید

Among the contemporaries of Fani, Mulla Mufid Balakhi has satirized him.

Fani was addicted to wine and opium :

کم زجام باده نبود هر گلی از کوکنار

زیبد ار امسال فانی کار می افیون کند

He died in 1081 A.H. (1670-1 A.D.)

Fani's Diwan has been described as consisting of between five and seven thousand verses. The Kulliyat of Fani (MS. No. 3565, Rampur) are as follows :—

Mathnawi	4	verses	7365
Ghazal		,,	5265
Qasida	5	,,	168
Quatrain	166		
		Total	13130

There is a manuscript Diwan (No. 84, Panjab University, Lahore, dated 1032 A.H. (1622-3 A.D.), which according to Dr. S. Abdullah may be the autograph of Fani Kashmiri. It begins with the following :

زهی کمال تو ز آثار این و آن پیدا

جمال تست زهر ذرهٔ جهان پیدا

But in the manuscript Kulliyat (No. 3565, Rampur) the section containing the ghazaliyat begins with following:

بمیزان کمان سنجند مردان زور بازو را

بدست آورده ام من هم ز ابروئی ترازو را

Moreover, the first verse quoted above is not included in the Rampur manuscript.

Masdarul-Athar

Among the mathnawis of Fani there is one called Masdarul-Athar, composed in 1067 A H. (1656-7 A.D.) after the model of Nizami's Makhzanul-Asrar and presented to Shah-Jahan. The name of the mathnawi and the year of its composition are given in the following couplets:

مصدر الآثار ز بس نام اوست

یك اثرش صورت اتمام اوست

بود اثرهاش چو از حد فزون

آمده تاریخ ز نامش برون

The mathnawi begins with the following couplet:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

تازه نهالیست زباغ قدیم

The poet praises God, the Prophet, the four caliphs and Shah-Jahan. Besides, he eulogizes Nizami, Amir Khusraw, Jami, Sh. Yaqub Sarfi and Sh. Muhibbullah Allahabadi. In three discourses the poet has sought his spiritual guide's help for the regeneration of heart, realization of the stage of eternity with God, which precedes annihilation in God, and visibility of detachment in attachment and attachment in detachment. Fani believes that the path of sufiism and mysticism is not separate from the path of Shari'at:

راه خدا غیر ره شرع نیست

مسلك آن اصل جز این فرع نیست

So he insists on religious formalities and rituals.

Masdarul-Athar is a purely religious mathnawi and has been written in a moralizing way. The mathnawi consists of eight "Athars" dealing with the virtues of Kalima-i-Tayiba, Namaz, Ruza, Haj, Zakat, together with repentance, humility and resignation. To eulogize these virtues small moral stories have been incorporated.

Naz-u-Niyaz

The second Mathnawi, Naz-u-Niyaz, is a historical love-story and begins with the following :

الهی آتش عشق بر افروز
که باشد همچو داغ لاله دلسوز

Then the poet says :

زلیخا را بیوسف نامزد ساخت
باین آهنگ ساز عشق بنواخت

زروی حسن لیلی پرده بر داشت
سوای عشق از قدش بر افراشت

بفرهاد از لب شیرین سخن کرد
بنل هم جلوه از حسن دمن کرد

بمحمود از ایاز آورده پیغام
که گشت از عشق اوبی صبر و آرام

Before embarking on the story, the poet praises India and her great Sufis :

سواد هند خاك عشق خیز است
که آنجا آفتاب حسن تیز است

دلم شد روشن از حسن سیه فام
عجب کز کفر دیدم نور اسلام

The Story

In the reign of Akbar,[1] there was a young man named S. Musa, at Kalpi. S. Musa came from Kalpi to Fatehpur Sikri and lived honourably at the court of Akbar for ten years. Then one day Musa saw a goldsmith's daughter, named Mohini, in his dream :

شبی آمد بخوابش ماه رویی

چو شب برمه پریشان کرده رویی

* * * *

چو مهرومه بیکدیگر رسیدند

بهم از چشم مست افسون دمیدند

* * * *

نهادم تا براه دلبری کام

بر آوردم باسم موهنی نام

and became infatuated with her. When Akbar heard of his condition, he sent for him, Abul Fazl[2] writing the summons on behalf of the emperor :

وزیر اعظم شه شیخ ابوالفضل

که در فهم وفراست بود ابوالفضل

بسید نامه عظمی فرستاد

که شاهنشاه کرد امشب ترا یاد

At the royal command Musa was sent to Akbarabad.

Musa wandered in the streets and lanes of Akbarabad till he reached a house, in which his beloved was living :

1. 963-1014 A.H. (1556-1605 A.D.)
2. d. 1011 A.H. (1602 A.D.)

نشان کوی یار از کس نپرسید
چو بلبل بوی گل از خس نپرسید
نگاهی بر درو دیوار می کرد
تماشای سرای یار می کرد

In order to see his beloved, Musa dressed himself as a flower-seller :

بقصد دیدن آن سرو آزاد
برسم گلفروشان کرد فریاد

In this way he entered Mohini's house, where he spent his nights secretly. After three days Musa hired a house, to which he took his beloved :

ز منزل رو سوی بازار کردند
وداع آن درو دیوار کردند
در آن خانه را زنجیر کردند
بهم دیوانه ها تدبیر کردند

When Mohini's people could not find her, they planned to kill Musa. Seeing their desperate plan Mohini returned home pretending to be out of her mind.

Musa returned to the royal camp ; and Mohini also left Akbarabad with a poet friend of Musa, named Qazi Jamal, but was caught on the way by her people and thrown into confinement :

پی دفع جنون تدبیر کردند
بپای آن صنم زنجیر کردند

Musa could not stand the separation and died reciting this couplet thrice :

دلم صد جان ز عشق دلستان یافت
ازین به دلستانی کی توان یافت

His funeral procession went by Mohini's house and she fell down weeping from the roof, and at last she also died.

Fani considers this mathnawi as a valuable present for Iran, Turan and Isfahan, and has remembered Saib also :

قبولش گر کنند این شعر مهمان
شود مشهور در ایران و توران

در اندك فرصتی از سرمهٔ آن
کند روشن سواد خود صفاهان

بصائب هم دعائی می رساند
که قدر این دعا او نیك داند

The following couplets mention the name and the year of the composition of the mathnawi :

ز حسن و عشق از بس یافت اتمام
بود ناز و نیاز این نامه را نام

* * *

بگوشم گفت هاتف از عنایت
رقم زد کلك فانی این حکایت

Maikhane

The third mathnawi, entitled Maikhane, was composed in the poet's old age and begins :

بنام خدا ابتدای کنم
که میخانه نو بنامی کنم

In this mathnawi, Fani has mentioned and praised the gardens, rivers streams and pleasant places of Kashmir.

عروس همه باغها شاله مار
که او را گرفته است دل در کنار

چو در عیش آباد کردم عبور
دوبالا طرب شد دو چندان سرور

ازین باغها به بود باغ شاه
که فرق است از خانه تاخانقاه

درو چشمهٔ هست دائم روان
که نامش بود چشمهٔ عارفان

بود حوض او حوضهٔ فیل کوه
سزد گر بود جای دارا شکوه

* * * *

چو در باغ سیتم گذار اوفتاد
عبورم بشهر و دیار اوفتاد

بباغ فتح چند کردم گذار
که از هند یابم در انجا گذار

چو چشمم شود روشن از باغ نور
اگر صفحهٔ گل نخواهم چه دور

In the end the poet has satirized qazis and exposed their evil character:

یکی قاضی شهر اسلام شد
که از رشوتش شرع بدنام شد

Haft Akhtar

The fourth mathnawi, Haft Akhtar, was composed in 1068 A.H. (1657-8 A.D.) and begins:

ای زبان کرده در دهان همه
حمد خود گفته از زبان همه

In the beginning Fani has mentioned all his mathnawis which were written within three years. He spent seven nights in writing this mathnawi and presented it to 'Alamgir [1]:

می توان برد فانی این تقویم
بر در پادشاه هفت اقلیم

شاه اورنگ زیب ملك ستان
که بود حکم او چو آب روان

The name and year of the composition of this mathnawi are mentioned in the following couplets:

هرکه خواند کتاب هفت اختر
چون منجم دهد ز غیب خبر

گفت در گوش صفحه پنهانی
کرده این نامه را رقم فانی

The mathnawi describes the love story of an Iranian king and a Chinese princess; but in the course of the story several other places are also mentioned, most of which were seen by the poet himself.

The Story

A beautiful young King of Iran was not inclined to marry, till one day a traveller told him about the excessive beauty of a Chinese princess named Khurshid, who also abhorred the idea of marriage. The king, feeling the stirrings of love, sent a young courtier, named Hilal, to China with his portrait.

First of all Hilal reached Farghana and became the guest of King Sulayman. Fani had had a bitter experience of the people of Farghana and so he satirized them:

نام آن شهر بود فرغانه
اهل آن شهر جمله دیوانه

1. 1068-1118 A.H. (1658-1707 A.D)

کرده از خانه های خویش فرار
جا گرفته بخانهٔ خمار

همه گم کرده جوهر ذاتی
در پی شاهد خراباتی

The King of Farghana was in love with Mihr Angiz, but, after their seeing the portrait, both the King and his beloved became devotees of the Iranian King.

From Farghana, Hilal reached Mahan, where a princess fell in love and was united with him.

حسن سرگرم مجلس آرائی
عشق بی پا ز ناشکیبائی

در بر یکدگر فتاده ز شوق
روی بر روی هم نهاده ز شوق

From Mahan, Hilal went on to Dasht-i-Gulchin, in the territory of Ghaznin. Here again the princess of the land fell in love and was united with him:

یافت چون خلوتی درآن وادی
تنگ در برکشیدش از شادی

From Dasht-i-Gulchin, Hilal proceeded to Kashmir, whose King, minister and princess, named Sanubar, on looking at the portrait, gave their hearts to the King of Iran. Hilal left Kashmir on his journey towards China and took shawls as a gift to be presented to those he would meet:

چو در آن ملك شال ارزان دید
تحفه ها بهریار ودوست خرید

From Kashmir Hilal went into Tibet, whose people are depicted unfavourably:

اهل آن ملك گرچه انسانند
لیك در عقل کم ز حیوانند

از لباس بشر همه عریان
پای در موزه چون دوات نهان

همه بدخو برنگ زهر گیاه
- - - - - - سر بزیر کلاه

همه ژولیده موی چون مجنون
همه پشمینه پوش چون میمون

However, the physicians of Tibet have been acknowledged by the poet :

در شرایع چو ملحدان کافر
لیك در علم طب همه کامل

* * * *

تن اموات پیش آن احیا
نیست کم از کتاب بیش بها

* * * *

حکمای تبت زپا تا سر
می کنند این کتاب را از بر

From Tibet, Hilal reached Khutan, about whose people he says :

مردم آن دیار ترکانند
فارسی را بدرس می خوانند

هیچکس فارسی ندانند چیست
پیش این قوم فارسی ترکیست
چون در آن ملك فارسی ست هنر
فارسی گوست مرد دانشور

Akhtar Khan was the ruler of Khutan, and his son was engaged to the same Chinese princess.

Hilal now set out for China, at the same time as the royal party from Khutan left for the intended wedding. The princess got married to the prince of Khutan; but when, after the wedding, Hilal showed the portrait of the Iranian King to her, she fell in love with the King; and ultimately her first marriage was dissolved, and she was wedded to him.

After the wedding, Hilal returned to Iran, accompanied by the Chinese princess. The king was extremely pleased to meet her and Hilal. He mentioned that before their arrival some mendicants had come there from various places; but was very much surprised, when Hilal revealed that they were not mendicants. They were, in fact, the king, princess, and minister of Kashmir and also the king and princess of Farghana and Mahan.

Besides Mathnawi, Fani has composed Ghazals, quatrains and qasidas also. He is proud of his ghazals :

بسکه در طرح غزل چون ما کسی استاد نیست
در زمین شعر ما یك بیت بی بنیاد نیست

But most of his ghazals are loose and unattractive, and are mostly conventional, as may be seen from the following :

از انتهای زلف سیه کس نشان نداد
نتوان شمرد بال و پر مرغ زاغ را
ز تار زلف تو تشخیص نبض خواهد کرد
خبر ز عمر دراز ار دهد طبیب مرا

The author of the Riazush-Shu'ara says, "His sublime verses are rare." [1] Still some of his verses are quite pleasant and fluent, as may be clear from the following:

چنان مزاج عروسان باغ نازک شد
که از صبا شود آشفته زلف سنبلها

* * * *

از پشت بام آن نازنین بنماید ار ماه چنین
خورشید افتد بر زمین چون سایهٔ دیوار ها

* * * *

قاصدان آه حسرت صبح راهی می شوند
شکوهٔ اهل زمین با آسمان باید نوشت

* * * *

در مجلس افسرده دلان تا نفس صبح
شمع است پریشان که پروانه کدام است

* * * *

چشم دارم کز غمت چشم تری پیدا کنم
از برای خوردن خون ساغری پیدا کنم

* * * *

هرسحر کز شیشه در ساغر شراب انداختیم
آب حسرت در دهان آفتاب انداختیم

The Qasidas of Fani deal with subjects like the fasting month, the tragedy of Imam Husain and the praise of Shah Jahan.

Fani's quatrains are mostly moral. In one of the quatrains, the death of Hafiz has been mourned.

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1. Cat. ۲

One of the chief characteristics of Fani is that he has introduced a number of Hindi words in mathnawi and qasida. Some examples of this are quoted here :

بود مرکب خاص آن ملك بیل
کزو سیر عالم شود بر توسیل

لب گلرخان سرخ از پان شود
گهرهای دندان چون مرجان شود

بخونریزی عاشقان هر سحر
زده خنجره بیره پان در کمر

* * * *

نوبهار آمد بسیر گلشن هندوستان
زیبد ار طوطی بجای پر برآرد برگ پان

درچمن هرصبح مینا می کند راگ بسنت
نیست طوطی رابجز کایان چون بلبل زبان

چنپه می گیرد چو نرگس دست گلچین را بزر
لاله می بندد حنا چون گل بدست باغبان

گل ز شبنم هار چنبیلی بگردن افگند
تا تواند شد حریف شاهد هندوستان

سیم وزر را دام می گیرد ز چنبیلی وبیل
نرگس از بهر نثار ثانی صاحب قران

Turning to his prose, we find that Muhsin Fani has written marginal notes on the Sharh-i-'Aqaid in Arabic.[1]

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1. MS. No. 794, Islamia College, Peshawar.

The Dabistan-i-Madhahib, [1] one of the monumental works of the period, has been ascribed to this very Fani ; but this is incorrect. A number of biographers have mentioned Fani ; but not a single tadhkira writer or historian has ascribed the Dabistan to him.

There are innumberable reasons for believing that this book has nothing to do with Fani. The style of Fani's prose is different from that of the Dabistan. In a short preface to his mathnawi, Masdarul-Athar, Fani writes :

سپاس بیقیاس و ستائش قدسی اساس تحفه ایست لایق بجناب حضرت احدیت و هدیه ایست سزاوار بارگاه صمدیت :— اما این - - - متاع بیش بها در دکان بیمایگان بازار سخن و بدست کم بضاعتان چهارسوی این فن از کارخانهٔ موهبت او مستعار است - - - پس حمد گفتن و گوهر ثناسفتن در بدریا دادن ولعل در کان نهادن است و خاموش بودن و طریق ناسپاس پیمودن پای از جاده متابعت کشیدن و در بادیه خود سری بسر خود دویدن لب از حمد بستن زبان مردم بطعن خود کشادن است -[2]

In contrast to this, the Dabistan has at its opening the following lines :

ای نام تو سردفتر اطفال دبستان - یاد تو ببالغ خردان شمع شبستان - - - - درود نا محدود بر والد موجود حضرت وجود خورشید سوار سپهر شهود کیوان بندهٔ بهرام پیشکار برجیس اختر ناهید پرستار اورنگ پیرای کشورستان دین دیهیم خدای دارالملک یقین مثنوی - - - - - درین نامه موسوم بدبستان لختی از دانش وکنش وکیش باستانی کرده -[3]

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1. Naval Kishore Press 2. Kulliyat-i-Fani, Rampur. 3. P. 2

Again, out of the three hundred and ninety-five pages of the Dabistan one hundred and thirty-four pages deal with the various Iranian religions and sects, especially the Parsi and Sapasi faiths, and in fact the book opens with this chapter, while the sixth chapter of only thirty eight pages is reserved for Islam and its various sects. There also, the whole information of the author is second-hand, based on what the Muslim scholars had told him, while we know that Muhsin Fani was a great orthodox Muslim scholar. His mathnawi, Masdarul-Athar, reveals his profound knowledge of Islam. Again, in dealing with the contemporary sufis, the author has not mentioned Muhibbullah Allahabadi, whom his devout disciple, Muhsin Fani, could never have omitted.

The author of the Dabistan had lived in Kashmir; but he never claimed it as his home, while Fani is proud of belonging to that pleasant valley. William Jackson writing about the author of the Dabistan says, "He was apparently of Iranian extraction'...writing of India he says that "in constant fortune had torn him from the shores of Persia and made him the associate of the believers of transmigration and those who addressed their prayers to idols and images and worshipped demons".[1]

Finally the author of the Dabistan had lived in Patna in his infancy, while Patna has never been mentioned in connection with Fani. On the other hand Fani had lived in Balkh, which does not figure in the Dabistan as a place visited by its author. The only reason for this mistake was that some of the manuscripts in the beginning read, "Muhsin Fani says", and then follow two couplets of Fani; and Mulla Firuz's judgment is quite true, "That a careless or ignorant reader may have considered the words 'Mohsin Fani says' as forming the commencement of the volume, and as containing the name of the author of the whole book; whereas they merely indicate the author of the couplets that follow".[2]

Sir William Jones thought that the book was composed by Muhsin Fani, and his judgment gave weight to the idea of somehow or other linking the book with the name of Fani Kashmiri.

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1. The Dabistan (p. IX), translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, New York and London.

2. The Dabistan (Vol. I, p. XI) translated by David Shea and Troyer, Paris.

William Erskine discovered an account of Muhsin Fani in the Gul-i-Ra'na, but says, "It is to be observed that Lachhmi does not mention the Dabistan as a production of Mohsin Fani." [1] And then Troyer says, "Erskine...concludes that it seems improbable that Mohsin Fani and the author of the Dabistan were the same persons... he coincides with... Vans Kennedy." [2]

1. The Dabistan (Vol. I p. ix), Paris.
2. The Dabistan (Vol. I. p. ix), Paris.

محمد محسن محسن کی

«محاکمات الشعرا»

از

پروفیسر عبد القادر سروری

«محاکمات الشعرا» محمد محسن محسن کی فارسی تصنیف ہے، جو شیخ علی حزین اور سراج الدین علی خان آرزو کے ادبی اور شعری تنازعہ پر محاکمہ کے طور پر لکھی گئی ہے - فارسی زبان اور محاورہ کی چھان بین کے اعتبار سے اس کی خاص اہمیت ہے، لیکن اس سے زیادہ اہمیت، اس رسالے کی ان معاصرانہ معلومات کی وجہ سے ہے، جو دھلی کے ابتدائی اردو شعرا، شیخ شرف الدین مضمون، خواجہ میر درد، میر تقی میر، مرزا رفیع سودا، سراج الدین علی خاں آرزو وغیرہ کے بارے میں، اس سے حاصل ہوتی ہیں - یہ رسالہ کتب خانہ مجلس تحقیقات اردو حیدرآباد کا مخزونہ ہے - یہ قدیم دلی کاغذ کے ٤٤ صفحات پر مشتمل ہے، اور خود مصنف کے ہاتھ کا لکھا ہوا ہے -

شیخ علی حزین جب ہندوستان آئے تو انھوں نے ایک رسالہ لکھا تھا، جس میں اہل ہند پر تعریض کی تھی کہ یہاں کسی فن میں اہل کمال پیدا نہیں ہوا، اور یہ بھی لکھا تھا کہ جب میں لاھور سے شاہ جہاں آباد آیا تو علم و فضلیت اور شاعری میں کوئی صاحب کمال مجھے نظر نہیں آیا - شیخ کے رسالے کے جواب میں، سراج الدین علی خان آرزو نے اپنا رسالہ، تنبیہ الغافلین

فی الاعتراض شیخ علی حزین لکھا تھا، جس میں شیخ کے دیوان کے ہر شعر پر زبان، محاورہ اور بیان ہر لحاظ سے اعتراضات کئیے تھے اور غلطیان نکالی تھیں۔ میر محمد محسن محسن سراج الدین علی خان آرزو کے پوتے اور شاگرد تھے۔ لیکن شیخ علی حزین سے بھی انھیں عقیدت تھی۔ اس لئے سنہ ۱۱۸۰ھ میں انھوں نے «محاکمات الشعرا» کے نام سے یہ رسالہ لکھا تھا، جس میں دونوں صاحبان کمال کے ایک دوسرے پر اعتراضات کی چھان بین کی ہے۔ رسالے کا ایک متبادل نام «بوستان المحسنین شرح تنبیہ الغافلین خان آرزو» بھی غالباً ان کے ذھن میں آیا تھا، جو رسالے کے سرورق پر لکھ کر اسے پھر قلمزد کر دیا ہے۔ ایک اور نام «گلزار سخن کہ محاکمات الشعرا نیز نام اوست» بھی لکھ کر کاٹ دیا ہے۔

محسن کا رسالہ فارسی زبان، محاورہ اور روز مرہ کی بڑی اچھی تحقیق ہے۔

محسن میر تقی میر کے بھتیجے تھے۔ چنانچہ میر نے «نکات الشعرا» میں ان کا حال لکھتے ہوئے، «برادر زادہ فقیر مولف» بتایا ہے۔ نساخ[1] اور شیفتہ[2] نے[3] بھی میر ھی کے بیان کو دھرا دیا ہے۔ خود محسن نے بھی رسالہ میں ایک جگہ میر کو «عموے مولف» لکھا[4] ہے۔ لیکن عشقی[5] نے پتہ نہیں کس سند پر، انھیں میر تقی میر کا بھائی بتایا ہے۔ کلیم قدرت اللہ خان قاسم نے رشتہ کی وضاحت

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(۱) نکات الشعرا (۲) سخن شعرا (۳) گلشن بے خار (٤) محاکمات (۵) بحوالہ یادگار شعرا۔

نہیں کی، بلکہ صرف یہ لکھدیا ھے کہ انھیں میر سے « رشتہ یگانگت » ھے اور آرزو کے « اقربائے قریبہ » میں سے ھیں۔[1]

قائم چاند پوری نے محسن کو سراج الدین علی خان آرزو کا بھانجا لکھا ھے۔ لیکن خود محسن رسالے میں اپنے آپ کو آرزو کا « نبیرہ » لکھتے ھیں۔

محسن کے نام کے بارے میں بھی تذکروں میں تھوڑا بہت اختلاف پایا جاتا ھے۔ میر نے ان کا نام محمد محسن لکھا ھے، اور قائم مصحفی، اور قاسم بھی محمد محسن ھی لکھتے ھیں۔ شیفتہ نے میر محسن اور نساخ نے میر محمد محسن نام لکھا ھے، خود محسن « محاکمات الشعرا » میں، ابتدا میں اپنا نام محمد محسن اور بعد میں کہیں میر محسن کہیں محمد محسن لکھتے ھیں۔ لیکن دو جگہ اپنا نام میر محسن علی بھی لکھا ھے۔ ایک جگہ جہاں انھوں نے اپنے استاد، میر غلام علی مرتضی موسوی کا تذکرہ کیا ھے، اپنا نام میر محسن علی لکھتے ھیں۔ ان کی عبارت یہ ھے:

« این تقریر گہر فشاں، افضل الفضلا زبدۃ العرفا میر غلام علی مرتضی موسوی کہ استاد فقیر میر محسن علی ھستند »۔

ایک اور مقام پر لکھا ھے: « و انصاف نزد فقیر میر محسن علی آنست »۔

گردیزی نے نہ معلوم، کس بنا پر، ان کا نام محمد حسن لکھ دیا ھے۔ محسن کا معروف نام میر محمد محسن ھی تھا۔ اور یہی نام انھون نے رسالے کے دیباچہ اور ترقیمہ میں بھی لکھا ھے۔

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(۱) مجموعہ فقر۔

محسن کے والد کا نام محمد حسن تھا ۔ محسن نے دیباچہ میں اپنے والد ، وطن اور سلسلہ نسب کے بارے میں لکھا ھے :

« فقیر محمد محسن ، محسن تخلص ولد قدوۃ الفضلا نقاوۃ العرفا حافظ محمد حسن اکبرآبادی که از فرزندان قدوۃ العارفین رئیس السالکین حضرت نصیر الدین الملقب به چراغ دهلی وشاگرد و نبیره سراج المحققین حضرت آرزو است » ۔

لیکن پته نهیں مصنف نے یا کسی اور نے « نصیر الدین چراغ دهلی » کا نام قلم زد کردیا ھے ۔

اکبرآباد محسن کے اجداد کا وطن تھا ، اسی کا اعادہ نساخ اور بعض اور تذکرہ نگاروں نے بھی کیا ھے ۔

محسن کا سنه ولادت کسی تذکرہ میں درج نهیں ھے ۔ لیکن میر تقی میر کے تذکرہ سے یه معلوم هوتا ھے که اس کی ترتیب کے وقت ان کی عمر بیس برس کی تھی ۔ اس اندراج کی مدد سے هم ان کا سنه ولادت دریافت کرسکتے هیں ۔ میر کا تذکرہ سنه ١١٦٤ھ اور سنه ١١٦٩ھ کے درمیان کی تصنیف مانی جاتی ھے ۔ اس اعتبار سے ان کا سنه ولادت ١١٤٤ اور ١١٤٩ کے درمیان قرار پاتا ھے ۔ میر نے انهیں اپنا شاگرد بھی بتایا ھے ۔ لکھتے هیں :

مصرعه ریخته بمشورت من موزون کند ؛

گردیزی نے بھی انهیں میر کا شاگرد لکھا ھے ۔ شیفته محسن کو میر اور آرزو کا شاگرد لکھتے هیں ۔ خود محسن نے آرزو سے اپنے تلمذ کا تذکرہ کئی جگه کیا ھے ، لیکن وہ میر

سے تلمذ کا کہیں ذکر نہیں کرتے۔ چنانچہ جہاں پر ذکر آتا ھے صرف انھیں «عموے مولف» لکھتے ھیں۔ آرزو کے علاوہ اپنے اساتذہ میں محسن نے میر غلام علی مرتضی موسوی اور ، مرزا علی تقی کا بھی ذکر کیا ھے۔

محسن کی نشو و نما شاہ جہان آباد میں ھوئی اور یہیں ان کی فارسی شاعری کا ذوق بھی بڑھا۔ دھلی کی تباھی کے بعد وہ بھی دوسرے علما اور شعرا کی طرح ، لکھنو آگئے تھے۔ لیکن لکھنو آنے سے پہلے ان کا قیام کچھ عرصہ فیض آباد میں بھی رھا۔ آرزو بھی فیض آباد آگئے تھے جہاں نواب آصف الدولہ کے ماموں سالار جنگ نے ان کی بڑی قدر کی۔ محسن بھی سالار جنگ کی ملازمت میں رھے ، جس کا تذکرہ نساخ نے کیا ھے۔ علی ابراھیم خاں خلیل نے ان کی ملازمت کی تفصیل دی ھے اور لکھا ھے کہ ان کے تذکرہ کی ترتیب کے وقت ، وہ سالار جنگ کے یہاں سواروں میں ملازم تھے۔ قدرت اللہ قاسم نے یہ بھی لکھا ھے کہ خان آرزو کے انتقال کے بعد ، محسن ان کی املاک پر قابض ھوگئے تھے اور اسے من مانے صرف کرتے تھے۔ اپنے زمانے کے مذاق اور تقاضا کے مطابق ، محسن ، بعد میں اردو میں بھی شعر کہنے لگے تھے ، چنانچہ اکثر تذکروں میں ان کا حال اردو کے شاعر کی حیثیت سے کیا گیا ھے۔

«محاکمات» میں اصل بحث سے پہلے محسن نے ایک طویل اور بسیط مقدمہ بھی لکھا ھے ، جس میں ، حمد ، نعت اور منقبت کے بعد سبب تالیف بیان کیا ھے۔

رسالے کی ترتیب کے بارے میں رقمطراز ہیں :-

«دریں ایام کہ سنہ یک ہزار و یک صدو ہشتاد ھجری نبوی صلی اللہ علیہ والہ و سلم است فقیر محمد محسن تخلص . . . بقدر تتبع دواوین اہل زبان و دریافت خود ہمہ اعتراضات را تحقیق نمودہ و از انصاف دست بر نداشتہ و طرف حضرت استاد سراپا ارشاد ہیچ جا کفی باللہ شہدا بلکہ اکثر جواب حضرت استاد نوشتہ» ۔

مقدمہ کئی فصلوں پر مشتمل ہے ۔ پہلی فصل کا عنوان ہے : «در بیان آنکہ از اہل زبان ہم غلط در شعر واقع می شود» ۔ اس ضمن میں وہ اہل ایران کے طریقۂ تعلیم پر بحث کرتے ہیں اور ایک طرح پر پورے نصاب تعلیم کی تفصیل لکھتے ہیں۔ بچے کو پہلے علم صرف ونحو کی تعلیم دی جاتی ہے پھر منطق، معانی ، بیان و بدیع کی تکمیل کرائی جاتی ہے ۔ اس کے بعد فقہ، تفسیر ، حدیث ، علوم حکمت ، مثل طبعی و الہی و ریاضی کے درس دئیے جاتے ہیں ۔ ایک خاص بات انہوں نے یہ لکھی ہے کہ دینی علوم سے فراغت پانے کے بعد متعلم کو شعر کہنے سے منع کیا جاتا ہے ۔ اس کا مقصد یہ ہوتا ہے کہ شعر کی دلچسپیاں اسے علوم دینی کے حصول سے باز نہ رکھیں ۔

فن شعر کی تحصیل کا ایران میں جو طریقہ ہے اس کی بھی تفصیل دی ہے ۔

اس بات کو سمجھانے کے لئیے کہ اہل ایران سے بھی غلطی ہوسکتی ہے ، محسن لکھتے ہیں کہ فضلا اور علما جو معقول اور منقول میں شغف رکھتے ہیں ، لیکن علم شعر سے واقف نہیں ہوتے ، شعر کے دقایق کو اس طرح نہیں سمجھ سکتے ، جس طرح ایک شاعر سمجھ سکتا ہے ، اس کے ثبوت میں انھوں نے مرزا صاحب کا ایک مشہور قول نقل کیا ہے کہ وہ اکثر اپنے شاگردوں سے کہا کرتے تھے کہ «اشعار مرا به مدرسه فضلا نه برند» ۔ وجه پوچھی تو جواب دیا کہ علم شعر ایک علحدہ علم ہے فضلا بھی علم شعر کی تحصیل کے بغیر ، شعر اچھی طرح نہیں سمجھ سکتے ۔ مرزا صاحب کا یہ واقعہ بھی بیان کیا ہے کہ شاہ جہاں عباس صفوی کی فرمایش پر انھوں نے یہ شعر کہا تھا :۔

ماه من طرح نو انداخته یعنی چه

جامه را فاخته ساخته ، یعنی چه ؟

اس شعر کو ایک فاضل مدرسہ نے سن کر فرمایا تھا ۔ « بصیغه غائب خطا است بصیغه مخاطب باید » ۔ اس اعتراض کو مرزا صائب کے شاگرد نے ان کے سامنے بیان کیا ۔ اس پر مرزا نے اس کی تنبیہ کی کہ ۔ «نه گفتم که اشعار مرا در مدرسه فضلا مبر» ۔

قافیہ کی غلطی کی مثال میں محسن نے نظامی کا یہ شعر پیش کیا ہے :

به دریا گر کشد تیغ هلالت

به ماهی گاو گوید کیف حالك

ایک فاضل نے خواجه نظامی سے کہا کہ اس شعر میں عبارت غلط ھے ، «کیف حالك» ھونا چاھئے - اس پر نظامی نے فرمایا - «این مقوله گاو است وگاو نحو نمی داند» - اس پر فاضل نے کہا : «قایل بیت علم نحو البته دارد ولیکن حیف که انصاف ندارد» -

اهل زبان سے غلطی صادر ہونے کے سلسلے میں شاہ جہاں آباد کے ریخته گو شعرا کا تذکرہ کیا ھے اور ریخته کے بارے میں لکھا ھے : «آں شعریست بطور شعر فارسی بزبان اردوے معلی آمیخته بزبان هندی ، فارسی و عربی» -

پھر اس کی تفصیل لکھی ھے که سارے ریخته گو اپنے اشعار سراج الدین علی خان آرزو کو دکھاتے ھیں اور آرزو ان کو زبان اور محاورہ کی غلطی کے دقایق اور عبارت کے اسقام سے مطلع کرتے ھیں - چنانچه آپ ھی کی تربیت سے اکثر شعرا ، جیسے شاہ مبارك آبرو ، شرف الدین مضمون ریخته میں استاد ھو گئے - اس کے علاوہ خواجه میر درد نے بھی حضرت استاد ھی کے فیض تربیت سے فارسی اور ریخته میں استادی کا مرتبه حاصل کرلیا - درد کے بارے میں لکھتے ھیں :-

« ذات ستوده صفاتش درین زمان در شاه جهان آباد فیض بخش گنج معرفت است » -

درد کے بارے میں یه بھی لکھا ھے که انھوں نے ابھی ابھی سلوك و معرفت پر ایك کتاب «واردات» تصنیف کی ھے اور راقم کے مطالعے کے لئے شاہ جہان آباد سے لکھنو بھیجی ھے - یه بھی لکھا ھے که میر تقی میر سلمه الله تعالے جو « عموے مولف » ھیں ،

سراج الدین علی خان آرزو ھی کی تربیت سے صاحب کمال بن گئے ھیں۔ اور شعر فارسی میں استعداد کلی پیدا کرلی ھے۔ آگے یہ بھی لکھا ھے کہ انھوں نے فن ریختہ میں مرتبہ کمال پیدا کرلیا ھے۔ ایک تازہ فارسی غزل شاہ جہان آباد سے اس فقیر کے لئے بھیجی ھے۔ غزل نو شعر کی ھے، اور محسن نے پوری نقل کر دی ھے۔ اس کا مطلع ھے۔

بس کہ خوش دارد دل من مشرب رندانہ را

برسر بازار بر سر میکشم پیمانہ را

مرزا رفیع سودا کے بارے میں لکھتے ھیں:

«ملک الشعرائے ریختہ گویاں، ذات ستودہ صفات اوست۔ اکثر در جناب سراج المحققین دقایق محاورہ و قواعد اشعار را تحقیق می نمود و ابیات خود را از نظر فیض اثرش می گزرانید۔ و آن جناب را ھم کمال شفقت و محبت با مرزاے موصوف بود»۔

اردو کی اھمیت جتاتے ھوئے وہ لکھتے ھیں:

« پس ازین دلیل دریافت می شود کہ زبان ھندی و فارسی مساویست »۔

مشاھیر شعراے اردو میں آبرو، مضمون، میر، سودا، درد کے علاوہ غلام مصطفے یک رنگ کا بھی تذکرہ کیا ھے اور لکھا ھے ان کی تربیت بھی آرزو ھی کی صحبت میں ھوئی۔ اس سلسلے میں خود آرزو کا قول بھی نقل کیا ھے:

محسن نے عبد القادر بیدل کے بارے میں آرزو کا یہ قول بھی نقل کیا ہے کہ «در قدرت و قوت شاعری و معنے یابی و خوش بیانئ مرزا عبد القادر بیدل شك نیست لیکن از راہ قدرت، تصرفات در محاورۂ زبان فارسی کہ مستعمل اہل زبان است نمودہ لهذا اہل زبان می گویند مرزا زبان اختراعی دارد ومن تصرف نمی کنم» ۔

محسن نے جس طرح سے حزین اور آرزو کے اعتراضات کا محاکمہ کیا ہے، اس سے فارسی زبان، قواعد، محاورہ اور دقایق شعر میں ان کی ژرف نگاهی کا پتہ چلتا ہے ۔

مخطوطے میں مصنف نے جگہ جگہ حك و اضافہ کیا ہے اور حاشیہ پر بھی عبارتوں کا اضافہ کیا گیا ہے ۔ رسالہ خود مصنف کے ہاتھ کا لکھا ہوا ہے ۔ چنانچہ ترقیمہ میں وہ لکھتے ہیں: «راقم میر محمد محسن کہ مولف این کتاب است» ۔

قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر

از حافظہ بیگم (افضل العلماء)، مدراس

ناظم آرکاٹ نواب انور الدین خان بہادر اور ان کے فرزند سراج الدولہ نواب محمد علی والاجاہ بہادر چونکہ گوپامئو ضلع ہردوئی اترپردیش کے رہنے والے تھے۔ اس لئے وطنیت کے تعلق کی بناء پر گوپامئو کے کئی اہل علم و فضل نے مدراس کا رخ کیا۔ اور یہیں بود و باش اختیار کرلی۔ ان میں سب سے زیادہ شہرت قاضی القضاۃ ابو علی محمد ارتضا علی خان بہادر صفوی کو حاصل ہوی۔ یہ قاضی احمد مجتبی گوپامئوی کے فرزند ارجمند تھے۔ قاضی احمد مجتبی فاروقی خاندان سے تعلق رکھتے تھے۔ ان کا سلسلہ نسب اٹھائیس واسطوں سے ناصر بن عبد اللہ بن امیر المومنین حضرت عمر بن الخطاب رضی اللہ عنہ سے جاملتا ہے۔ احمد مجتبی سنہ ۱۱۷۳ھ میں گوپامئو میں پیدا ہوے تھے۔ اور مولوی رحیم الدین گوپامئوی، مولوی غلام طیب بہاری، اور مولانا حیدر علی سندیلوی سے فارسی اور عربی پڑھی تھی۔ قرآن مجید حفظ کیا تھا۔ علم عقلیہ و نقلیہ میں کمال حاصل کیا تھا۔ تصوف سے بھی خاصا ذوق تھا۔ سید شاہ غلام پیر فرزند سید شاہ یسین بلگرامی کے ہاتھ پر بیعت کی تھی۔ اس کے بعد ان کے فرزند سید شاہ غلام نصیر الدین سعدی کے ہاتھ سے خرقہ خلافت حاصل کیا تھا۔

احمد مجتبی سنه ۱۲۰۰ھ میں مدراس تشریف لاے۔ سراج الدولہ نواب محمد علی والاجاہ نے کچھ تو خاندانی رشتہ اور کچھ ان کے ذاتی علم و فضل کی بناء پر ان کی بڑی عزت کی۔ ان کو ان کے والد ماجد مصطفی علی خان بہادر کا خطاب بخشا۔ اور پھر گوپامئو کے سرکاری مدرسے کا مدرس مقرر کرکے انہیں گوپامئو روانہ کردیا۔ احمد مجتبی گوپامئو میں رہکر طلبہ کو علوم دینی و عقلی کا درس دینے لگے۔

نواب محمد علی والاجاہ کی وفات کے بعد جب ان کے فرزند نواب عمدۃ الامرا بہادر سریر آراے مسند ریاست ہوے تو احمد مجتبی سنہ ۱۲۱۱ھ میں پھر مدراس وارد ہوے۔ نواب عمدۃ الامرا نے ان کی بڑی خاطر مدارات کی۔ یہاں کے مختلف علماء کے ساتھ ان کی صحبتیں رہیں۔ وہ خوشگو اور خوش مذاق شاعر بھی تھے۔ خوشدل ان کا تخلص تھا۔ مدراس کی شاعرانہ مجلسوں میں ان کو نمایاں جگہ حاصل تھی۔ کچھ دن مدراس میں رہنے کے بعد انہوں نے اپنے وطن گوپامئو کا رخ کیا۔ اور پھر سنہ ۱۲۱۶ھ میں جبکہ نواب عظیم الدولہ ریاست کی گدی پر بیٹھے تو مدراس تشریف لاے ایک سال تک وہ یہیں رہے۔ چونکہ حالات ناسازگار تھے۔ اس لئیے انہوں نے وطن لوٹنے کی بجاے یہیں ملازمت قبول کرلی۔ ابتدا میں ترچناپلی کے قاضی بناے گئیے۔ اور جب مدراس کے مشہور قاضی محمد مستعد خان بہادر کا انتقال ہوگیا تو ان کی جگہ پر مصطفی علی خان خوشدل بہادر کو قاضی مقرر کیا گیا۔ یہاں تک کہ انہوں نے سنہ ۱۲۳٤ھ میں داعی اجل کولبیک کہا۔ اور متیال پیٹھ مدراس کی جامع مسجد کے صحن میں مدفون

ہوے۔ ان کے فرزند قاضی ارتضا علی خان نے «خوشدل مرحوم» سے ان کی تاریخ وفات نکالی ہے۔ ۱۲۳٤ھ

خوشدل کی اولاد میں سے دو فرزندوں نے بہت نام کمایا۔ ایک قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر اور دوسرے مولوی حکیم محمد یحییٰ علی خان ندرت ہیں۔ یہ دونوں بہترین عالم شاعر اور حکیم تھے۔ لیکن قاضی ارتضا علی خان کو جو شہرت حاصل ہوی وہ ندرت کو نصیب نہیں ہوسکی تھی۔ ندرت اسی سال پیدا ہوے تھے جس سال خوشدل کا انتقال ہوا تھا۔ قاضی ارتضا علی خان اور دوسرے اساتذہ سے تعلیم حاصل کی تھی۔ طب میں مہارت پیدا کی۔ گنٹور، چنگل پیٹھ اور سیکاکول میں مفتی کی خدمات پر مامور ہوے تھے۔ طب کے متعلق قرابادین ندرتی اور مناظر الابدال کے نام سے دو کتابیں لکھی ہیں۔ مناظر الابدال کا ایک نسخہ کتب خانہ آصفیہ حیدرآباد میں ہے۔

مدراس میں علم و فضل کے لحاظ سے دو ہمعصر گزرے ہیں۔ جنھوں نے اپنی اپنی جگہ علوم و فنون کی بہت بڑی خدمت انجام دی۔ ایک قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر اور دوسرے قاضی بدرالدولہ۔ قاضی بدرالدولہ اھل نایط سے ہیں اور بیجاپور کے ایک علمی خاندان سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔ عمر کے لحاظ سے قاضی ارتضا علی خان قاضی بدرالدولہ سے تقریبا تیرہ سال بڑے تھے۔ اور ان سے دس سال پہلے وفات پائی۔

قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر سنہ ۱۱۹۸ھ میں گوپامئو میں پیدا ہوے تھے۔ پندرہ سال کی عمر تک انھوں نے عربی اور فارسی

علوم اپنے والد ماجد مصطفی علی خان بہادر خوشدل سے حاصل کئے - اور جب ان کے والد نے مدراس کا رخ کیا تو قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر نے لکھنو پہنچ کر مختلف علماء سے عربی کی اعلی درسی کتابیں پڑھنی شروع کیں - سندیلے میں ایك معقولی کی حیثیت سے مولانا حیدر علی کا بڑا شہرہ تھا - وہ ملا حمداللہ شارح مسلم سندیلوی کے فرزند تھے - اس لئے وہ وھاں پہنچے - اور مولانا حیدر علی سے معقولات کی کتابیں پڑھنی شروع کیں - کچھ مدت تك سندیلے میں رھنے کے بعد انھوں نے بلگرام کا رخ کیا - جہاں انھوں نے مکمل سات سال گزارے - یہیں انھوں نے مولوی محمد ابراھیم ملیباری سے مختلف علوم و فنون کی تعلیم حاصل کی - اور آخر مولوی سید شاہ غلام نصیر الدین سعدی بلگرامی کے ھاتھ پر بیعت کی - اور صفوی طریقہ پر ان سے خرقہ خلافت حاصل کیا - انھیں سید شاہ موصوف سے بڑی عقیدت تھی - چنانچہ خود ھی فرماتے ھیں :

دستم بگرفت فیض عام سعدی
مستم از جرعہ زجام سعدی
گم نامم و نیست غیر سعدی نامم
زامروز کہ حرز جان است نام سعدی

* * *

از بسکہ بدل بود ھوائے سعدی
ناید نظرم بجز لقائے سعدی
خوشنود ز فخر سر کشیدم بفلك
سودم چو جبین خود بپائے سعدی

حصول تعلیم کے بعد انھوں نے سنہ ۱۲۲۵ھ کی ابتدا میں مدراس کا رخ کیا - اس لئے کہ ان کے والد ماجد مصطفی علی خان بہادر خوشدل اسی جگہ سکونت پذیر تھے - اس وقت مولانا ابو العیاش عبد العلی بحر العلوم بن ملا نظام الدین زندہ تھے - ان کی خدمت میں بھی اکثر بیٹھا کرتے تھے - تا آنکہ ۱۳ رجب سنہ ۱۲۲۵ھ کو ان کا انتقال ہوا - قاضی ارتضا علی خان نے ان کی تاریخ وفات لکھی تھی -

مدراس پہنچنے کے بعد تقریبا پانچ سال تک وہ درس و تدریس اور تصنیف و تالیف میں مصروف رہے - نواب عظیم الدولہ رحمت مآب نے تقریبا سنہ ۱۲۳۰ھ میں ان کو محکمہ عالیہ کا مفتی مقرر کیا - چنانچہ پانچ سال تک وہ افتا کی خدمات انجام دیتے رہے پھر سنہ ۱۲۳۵ھ میں انھوں نے اپنی خدمت سے استعفا دیدیا - اور توکل کی زندگی بسر کرنی شروع کی - اسی اثنا میں بعض ارباب حکومت کے اصرار پر انھوں نے چتور کی قضاوت کا عہدہ قبول کر لیا - اور اپنے فرائض منصبی پوری دیانت کے ساتھ انجام دینے لگے - چند دن کے بعد صدر عدالت کے مفتی مقرر ہوے - اور پھر سنہ ۱۲۴۴ھ میں ممالک محروسہ متعلقہ حکومت مدراس کے قاضی القضاۃ مقرر کئے گئے - اور تقریبا بیس برس تک اس جلیل القدر عہدے کے فرایض ادا کرتے رہے - اس مدت میں انھوں نے نہ صرف سرکاری خدمات انجام دیں بلکہ بہترین کتابیں بھی تصنیف فرمائیں جن کی تفصیل آئندہ آتی ہے -

ایک مدت سے ان کے دل میں حرمین شریفین کی زیارت کا شوق لہریں لے رہا تھا - مگر جانے کی کوئی صورت نظر نہیں آرہی تھی - چنانچہ وہ کہتے ہیں -

بطوفان بلا خوشنود در ملک دکن آمد
وزد گرباد شرط لطف حق عزم عرب دارد

آخر سنہ ۱۲۶۸ ھ میں اپنی سرکاری ملازمت سے استعفا دیدیا - اور خدا کا نام لیکر ۱۹ جمادی الاولی سنہ ۱۲۶۸ ھ کونتھرنگر کی طرف چل کھڑے ہوے - ان کے ساتھ ان کے اھل و عیال بھی تھے - ٦ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۶۹ ھ کو نتھرنگر سے ٹیلیچیری کی طرف روانہ ہوے جو جنوبی ہند کے مغربی ساحل پر ایک چھوٹی سی بندرگاہ ہے - ۲۷ ربیع الثانی کو یہ مختصر سا قافلہ جہاز پر سوار ہوا - اور جمادی الاولی کے دوسرے ہفتہ میں جدہ پہنچا اور مدینہ منورہ پہنچ کر روضۃ النبی اور دوسرے متبرک مقامات کی زیارت کی - اور اطمینان کے ساتھ حج کے مناسک ادا کئیے - اس وقت ان کی عمر بہتر سال کی ہوچکی تھی - حج کے ایام میں ہی بیمار ہوگئیے - اور جب جہاز پر سوار ہوے تو ان کی بیماری اور بڑھ گئی - طبیعت پر ضعف غالب ہوگیا تھا - جہاز کے تمام مسافران کی بڑی عزت کرنے لگے تھے - جہاز کا مالک محمد سعید المسقطی خودان کا مرید ہو چکا تھا - جب جہاز حدیدہ کی بندرگاہ کے قریب سفر کر رہا تھا تو ۷ شعبان سنہ ۱۲۷۰ ھ کو جمعہ کے دن چاشت کے وقت ان کا انتقال ہوگیا - ان کو نہلا دھلا کر اور کفن پہنا کر صندوق میں رکھا گیا - اس کے بعد ان

کے مشہور شاگرد اور خلیفہ سید قادر بادشاہ مدراسی نے ان کے جنازے کی نماز پڑھائی اس کے بعد دستور کے مطابق صندوق کو پانی میں بہا دیا گیا ۔ کہا جاتا ہے کہ صندوق لہروں میں بہتا ہوا حدیدہ کے ساحل کے کنارے پہنچ گیا ۔ اور لوگوں نے ان کو قبرستان میں لیجا کر دفن کر دیا ۔ جب یہ افسوسناک خبر مدراس پہنچی تو یہاں کے تمام لوگوں کو بیحد افسوس ہوا ۔ چند دن کے بعد ۱۸ ذیقعدہ سنہ ۱۲۷۰ ھ کو قاضی صاحب کے اہل و عیال اور متعلقین بھی مدراس پہنچ گئے ۔

قاضی صاحب کو حکومت کی طرف سے ان کے غیر معمولی علم و فضل کی بناء پر افضل العلماء کا خطاب دیا گیا ۔ اور وہ خطاب اتنا مبارک اور مقبول ثابت ہوا کہ آج مدراس یونیورسٹی میں عربی زبان و ادب اور علوم اسلامیہ کا ایک اعلی امتحان اسی نام سے جاری ہے ۔ ہر سال منتہی طلبہ اس امتحان کے لئے بیٹھتے ہیں ۔ اور چار سال کی محنت کے بعد اس میں کامیاب ہوتے ہیں ۔

قاضی صاحب نے اپنے بعد بہت سی عمدہ تصنیفات یادگار چھوڑی ہیں یہ وہ زمانہ تھا جبکہ ہمارے علماء مشہور کتابوں کی شروح اور حواشی اور حواشی علی الحواشی لکھنے میں مصروف تھے ، مختلف اسلامی علوم و فنون پر صاف اور سلیس زبان میں ایسی کتابیں نہیں تھیں جو درسی کتابوں کی حیثیت سے کام دے سکیں ۔ قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر نے وقت کی ایک بڑی اور اہم ضرورت کو پورا کیا ۔ ان کی مختلف تصنیفات ان کے

زمانے میں بطور درس کے پڑھائی جاتی تھیں اور آج بھی اس قابل ہیں کہ عربی مدارس کے نصاب میں شامل کی جائیں ۔ ذیل میں ان کی تصنیفات کی ایک مختصر فہرست پیش کی جاتی ہے ۔

(۱) فرایض ارتضیه :

فارسی زبان میں علم فرایض و وراثت کے متعلق ۶۲ صفحوں کا ایک عمدہ اور مختصر رسالہ ہے جس کو سنہ ۱۲۲۶ھ میں تصنیف کیا تھا ۔ یہ ایک مقدمہ چند فصول اور ایک خاتمہ پر منقسم ہے ۔ ابتدا میں حمد و نعت اشعار میں ہیں اور ان میں علم فرایض کی اصطلاحات استعمال کی ہیں ۔ اس کے اختتام کی تاریخ خود ہی اس طرح لکھی ہے :

صد شکر خدا کہ یافت حسن انجام
ایں نسخه ز ارتضا بایام صیام
کردم چون فکر از پی تاریخش
شد منتخب مفید سال اتمام
۱۲۲۶ھ

یہ کتاب ان کی زندگی ہی میں ٹائپ میں چھپی ہے ۔ اس پر مولوی محمد حسن علی ماہلی کی عمدہ تقریظ ہے ۔ یہ کتاب بطور درسی کتاب کے پڑھائی جاتی رہی ہے ۔

(۲) نفایس ارتضیه :

علم معانی و بیان و بدیع کے متعلق عربی میں ایک عمدہ رسالہ ہے ۔ یہ حقیقت میں شاہ عبد العزیز دہلوی کے ایک مختصر رسالے الرسالة العزیزیه کی مختصر تشریح ہے ۔ اس کو نواب

عظیم الدولہ بہادر کے زمانہ حکومت میں تصنیف کیا تھا - یہ کتاب بھی بطور درس کے پڑھائی جاتی رہی ہے - اور دایرۃ المعارف حیدرآباد سے چھپ چکی ہے -

(۳) حاشیہ صدرا :

شیخ صدر الدین شیرازی کی مشہور کتاب صدرا کے ایک جز پر عربی زبان میں حواشی لکھے ہیں - یہ رسالہ بھی چھپ چکا ہے - اس کے قلمی نسخے بھی پائے جاتے ہیں - اس کے کل صفحات ٦٠ ہیں - اور ہر صفحہ پر انیس سطریں ہیں -

(٤) حاشیہ زاهدیہ علی الرسالۃ القطبیہ :

میر زاهد المتوفی سنہ ١١٠١ ھ فرزند قاضی محمد اسلم ہروی نے قطب الدین محمود بن محمد المتوفی سنہ ٧٦٦ ھ کے منطق رسالہ قطبیہ پر جو حواشی لکھے تھے ان کی عربی میں تشریح کی ہے - اس کے خاتمہ کو دیکھنے سے ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر نے یہ حواشی ١٤ محرم سنہ ١٢٣٠ ھ کو ختم کئے تھے - یہ رسالہ بھی چھپ چکا ہے - اس کے قلمی نسخے بھی مختلف جگہ پائے جاتے ہیں - اس کے کل صفحات ١٠٦ ہیں - ہر صفحہ پر سترہ سطریں ہیں -

(٥) ازاحۃ الاوهام عن مسئلۃ الکلام :

یہ رسالہ عربی میں ہے - اور اس کو سنہ ١٢٤٥ ھ میں تصنیف کیا تھا - اس کا مقصود اس کے نام سے ظاہر ہے - اس کا ایک قلمی نسخہ کتب خانہ آصفیہ حیدرآباد میں ہے -

(٦) نقود الحساب :

علم حساب کے متعلق فارسی میں ایک بہترین کتاب ھے ایک مقدمہ دس باب اور ایک خاتمہ پر منقسم ھے۔ فرائض ارتضیہ کی طرح حمد و نعت اشعار میں لکھی ھے۔ جن میں زیادہ تر حساب کی اصطلاحیں استعمال کی ھیں۔ اس کتاب کے متعلق ایک قابل ذکر بات یہ ھے کہ اس کا باب ھشتم ادویہ مرکبہ کے درجہ کے استخراج اور باب نہم فرایض کے حساب کے متعلق ھے۔ جو عام طور پر اس زمانہ کی کتابوں میں نہیں پاے جاتے تھے۔ آجکل جس طرح سود مفرد و مرکب کے حسابات درسی کتابوں میں داخل ھیں، اسی طرح قاضی ارتضا علی خان نے ان دونوں عنوانات کو اپنی درسی کتاب میں داخل کر لیا ھے، یہ کتاب بہت مفید ھے۔ خود ان کی زندگی میں یہ کتاب چھپ چکی تھی۔ مختلف قلمی نسخے بھی پاے جاتے ھیں۔ اس کے صفحات ۲۰۳ ھیں۔ ھر صفحہ پر انیس سطریں ھیں۔

(۷) مواھب سعدیہ :

یہ ۱٤٦ صفحوں کا ایک فارسی رسالہ ھے جس میں سلسلہ صفویہ کے مختلف اوراد و وظایف کو قلمبند کیا ھے، جو نمازوں میں جمعہ کی رات میں اور نیز مختلف مہینوں کے خصوصی ایام میں پڑھے جاسکتے ھیں۔ سید محمد یحیی خان بہادر اکبر جنگ کی استدعا پر یہ رسالہ لکھا تھا۔ اور اپنے مرشد سید شاہ نصیر الدین سعدی بلگرامی کے نام فیض انام سے موسوم کیا۔ ابتدا میں عقائد کی

درستی پر زور دیا ہے۔ اور لکھا ہے کہ صحیح عمل اور اتباع رسول کے بغیر روحانی فیوض کا حصول مشکل ہے۔

بطاعت کوش گر عشق بلا انگیز می خواہی
متاعی جمع کن شاید که غارت گر شود پیدا

اس کا ایك قلمی نسخه مدرسه محمدی مدراس کے کتب خانه میں ہے۔

(۸) فواید سعدیه :

فارسی زبان میں مشہور صوفی حضرت مخدوم شیخ سعد خیرآبادی قدس سره کی کتاب مجمع السلوك کا انتخاب کیا ہے۔ اور بہت عمده انتخاب کیا ہے۔ شیخ سعد خیرآبادی نے نویں صدی ہجری کے اواخر یا دسویں صدی ہجری کے اوایل میں ۱۶ ربیع الاول کو وفات پائی تھی۔ حضرت مخدوم شاه عبد الصمد صفی المتوفی ۱۹ محرم الحرام سنه ۹۳۳ ھ انھی شیخ سعد خیرآبادی کے مرید اور خلیفه تھے۔ قاضی ارتضا علی خان کے مرشد شاه غلام نصیر الدین بلگرامی اسی صفوی سلسله کے مرید اور خلیفه تھے۔ اور انھیں کی نسبت سے قاضی ارتضا علی خان اپنے آپ کو صفوی لکھا کرتے تھے۔ جمادی الاولی سنه ۱۲٤۲ ھ میں یه انتخاب مکمل ہوا تھا۔ یه کتاب بھی چھپ چکی ہے۔ ہمارے پیش نظر مطبع نولکشور لکھنو کا وه نسخه ہے۔ جو سنه ۱۳۰۲ ھ میں چھپ کر شائع ہوا تھا۔ اس کے صفحات ۲۵۰ ہیں۔ اور ہر صفحه پر اکیس سطریں ہیں۔

(۹) مراصد ارتضیه فی شرح الکواکب المضیئه:

یہ امام بوصیری کے مشہور عربی قصیدہ بردہ کی فارسی شرح ہے۔ جس کا اصلی نام الکواکب المضیئه ہے۔ اس کے مقدمہ میں وہ سلسلہ سند بھی نقل کیا ہے جو ان کو شیخ عمر بن عبد الکریم بن عبد الرسول المکی الحنفی سے ملا تھا۔ اس کے کل صفحات ۱۹۶ ہیں۔ اور ہر صفحہ پر سترہ سطریں ہیں۔ یہ رسالہ بھی چھپ چکا ہے۔ اس کے قلمی نسخے بھی پائے جاتے ہیں۔

(۱۰) تیسیر المعسور فی ترجمة شرح الصدور:

شرح الصدور فی بیان الموتی و القبور شیخ جلال الدین سیوطی المتوفی سنہ ۹۱۱ ھ کی مشہور تصنیف ہے۔ اس میں ایک مقدمہ اور ٤٤ باب ہیں۔ آخر میں روح کے احوال کے متعلق دس فوائد پر مشتمل ایک خاتمہ بھی ہے۔ قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر نے اپنے احباب اور خاص کر محمد حفیظ اللہ خان بہادر حافظ یار جنگ المتوفی سنہ ۱۲٦٦ ھ کے اصرار پر فارسی میں اس کتاب کا ایک نفیس ترجمہ کیا تھا۔ اس کتاب کا چھپا ہوا ایک حصہ ملتا ہے۔ مگر اس کا ایک نہایت نفیس قلمی نسخہ جو مترجم کی وفات کے انیس برس بعد سنہ ۱۲۸۹ ھ میں لکھا گیا ہے مدرسہ محمدی مدراس کے کتب خانے میں ہے۔ اس کے کل صفحات ۵۳۲ ہیں اور ہر صفحہ پر پندرہ سطریں ہیں۔

(۱۱) تصریح المنطق:

منطق کے متعلق عربی میں ایک عمدہ رسالہ ہے۔ یہ ان کی زندگی ہی میں سنہ ۱۲٦۵ ھ میں چھپا تھا۔ اور بطور درس کے پڑھایا جاتا تھا۔

(۱۲) اهتداء الناسك لاداء المناسك :

حج کے احکام کے متعلق فارسی میں ایک عمدہ رسالہ ھے۔ اس کا ایک قلمی نسخہ شمس العلماء قاضی عبید اللہ مرحوم مدراس کے کتب خانے میں ھے۔

(۱۳) شرح اسماء اللہ الحسنی :

اس کا اصلی نام منحة السراء فی شرح الدعاء المسمی بکاشف الضراء ھے۔ اس میں خداے تعالے کے ننانوے نامون کی عربی زبان میں نہایت عمدہ تشریح کی ھے۔ اور ھر ایک نام کے خواص بیان کئے ھیں۔ اور پھر ان کے مختلف فوائد پیش کئے ھیں۔ اس کا ایک نہایت نفیس قلمی نسخہ ڈاکٹر عبد الحق صاحب مرحوم کے پاس تھا۔ اور یہ رسالہ سنہ ۱۳۳۷ ھ میں دائرۃ المعارف حیدرآباد سے شائع ھوچکا ھے۔ اس کے مقدمہ میں لکھتے ھیں کہ ان پر تفکرات اور مصیبتون کا ھجوم تھا۔ ان کے دل میں آیا کہ اسماے الھی کے ساتھ اسماے نبوی کو ملاکر ایک بہترین دعا تیار کی جاے۔ جس کے ورد سے ساری مصیبتیں دور ھو جائیں۔ چنانچہ انھون نے چند دن تک ان کا ورد جاری رکھا۔ تا آنکہ ان کی ساری مصیبتین اور کلفتیں دور ھوگئیں۔ پھر انھون نے ان نامون کی تشریح لکھی۔ اور ان کے خواص بیان کئے۔ آخر میں ایک خاتمہ ھے۔ جس میں نیند کی حالت میں جمال مصطفوی سے مشرف ھونے کے متعلق بحث کی ھے۔ اور ان کے والد ماجد نے خواب میں آنحضرت صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کو دیکھا تھا۔ قاضی القضاۃ ارتضا علی

خان نے یہ کتاب ٤ رجب سنہ ١٢٤٢ ھ کو مکمل کی تھی - اس کے کل صفحات ١١٩ ھیں - ھر صفحہ پر اکیس سطریں ھیں -

(١٤) تفسیر سورہ فاتحہ و آیات احکام:

قاضی ارتضا علی خان نے قرآن مجید کی ایک نفیس تفسیر فارسی میں لکھنی شروع کی تھی - جس میں احکام کی آیتوں کی تشریح پر خاص توجہ دی تھی - مگر وہ صرف چند صفحات لکھکر رہ گئے تھے - اس کا ایک قلمی نسخہ شمس العلماء قاضی عبید اللہ مرحوم مدراس کے کتب خانہ میں ھے -

(١٥) تنبیہ الغفول فی اثبات اسلام آباء الرسول:

یہ اٹھائیس صفحوں کا ایک چھوٹا سا فارسی رسالہ ھے، جس میں آنحضرت صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے آباء و اجداد کے اسلام کو ثابت کرنے کی کوشش کی ھے - ١٥ رمضان سنہ ١٢٦١ ھ کو مطبع احمدی محمد تقی ساوی القادری مدراس سے شائع ھوا ھے -

(١٦) تفتیح المغلق فی تصریح المنطق:

اس میں اپنے ھی رسالہ تصریح المنطق کی عربی میں شرح لکھی ھے - اس کے چھپے ھوے نسخے پاے جاتے ھیں -

(١٧) مدارج الاسناد:

قاضی ارتضا علی خان نے شیخ عمر بن عبد الکریم بن عبد الرسول مکی کے نام اتصال سند کے لئے خط لکھا تھا - اور انھوں نے ٣ ذی حجہ سنہ ١٢٤١ھ کو ایک سند روانہ کی تھی - قاضی صاحب

نے اس سند کے ساتھ اپنے دوسرے اسناد کے تسلسل کو مرتب کرکے یہ رسالہ تیار کیا تھا ۔ اس کا ایک قلمی نسخہ کتب خانہ آصفیہ حیدرآباد میں ھے اس کے کل صفحات ۴۲ ھیں ۔ اور ھر صفحہ پر پندرہ سطریں ھیں ۔

اس کے علاوہ قاضی صاحب کے مختلف فتاوی اور اشعار کے مجموعے تھے ، جن کے نسخے دیکھنے میں نہیں آئے ۔ قاضی بدرالدولہ کی تصنیفات میں ان فتاوی کا حوالہ ملتا ھے ۔ بعض مسائل میں قاضی بدرالدولہ نے قاضی ارتضا علی خان کے فتووں کی تردید کی ھے ۔ اس پر بحث کرنے کا یہ موقعہ نہیں ۔

قاضی ارتضا علی خان نے حافظ قطب الدین احمد (بن حافظ غلام احمد بن خیر الدین بن خیر اللہ) کی لڑکی سے شادی کی تھی ۔ یہ خیر اللہ نواب انورالدین خان بہادر کے سالے اور بدر الاسلام کے حقیقی ماموں تھے ۔ قاضی صاحب کی اولاد کے متعلق کسی جگہ بھی تصریحات نہیں ملتی ھیں البتہ مولوی عبد الوھاب مدار الامرا کے روز نامچہ میں یہ ذکر ھے کہ ۲۵ ذیقعدہ سنہ ۱۲۴۹ھ کو نواب عظیم جاہ نے قاضی ارتضا علی خان کے فرزند کو ھندوستان جانے کی رخصت دی تھی ۔ اور اس موقعہ پر نواب صاحب نے ان کو ایک دوشالہ بھی عنایت کیا تھا ۔ چنانچہ وہ ۲۶ محرم سنہ ۱۲۵۰ھ کو مدراس سے لکھنو روانہ ھوئے تھے ۔ اس سے زیادہ اس فرزند کے متعلق کوئی حالات نہیں ملتے یہ بھی نہیں معلوم ھوتا کہ ان کا نام کیا تھا ۔

اسی روز نامچہ میں یہ بھی لکھا ہوا ہے کہ ان کی ایک صاحبزادی کا یہاں مدراس میں ۱۱ جمادی الثانی سنہ ۱۲۶۰ھ کو انتقال ہوا تھا۔ منحۃ السراء کے مصحح کا بیان ہے کہ ان کی نرینہ اولاد سے کوئی نسل نہیں البتہ ان کی بیٹیوں کی اولاد میں سے بعض حیدرآباد میں سکونت پذیر ہیں۔ ان میں سے ان کے نواسے مولوی علی احمد بن ولی احمد فاروقی صفوی مرحوم اور ان کے لڑکے مولوی عنایت احمد اور مولوی فضل احمد کا نام لیا ہے۔ اسی طرح ان کے اور ایک نواسے مولوی قدرت رحیم بن قدرت نصیر کا بھی نام لیا ہے۔

قاضی ارتضا علی خان کے بہت سے شاگرد نامور ہوے۔ نواب غلام غوث خان بہادر انہی کے شاگرد تھے۔ ان کے علاوہ مولوی رضا حسین خان بہادر افسر فرزند مولوی سعید حسین خان، مولوی سید محمد اسحق طرازش خان بہادر فرزند سید قاسم نواز خان بہادر، افضل الشعراء مولوی محمد حسین شیرین سخن خان راقم، مولوی محمد قادر علی صاحب بیہوش فرزند مولوی محی الدین احمد خان، مولوی سید محمد حسین تمنا فرزند سید امام الدین حسین، مولوی غلام علی المتخلص بصاحب منشی الملک دبیر الدولہ اعتماد خان بہادر عطارد جنگ فرزند مولوی محمود علی دبیر الملک مشیر الدولہ رازدار خان بہادر بجوز جنگ، مولوی سید عاشق حسین زائر فرزند سید جعفر حسین، مولوی محمد قدرت اللہ خان قدرت مصنف نتائج الافکار فرزند مولوی محمد کامل، مولوی سید غلام رسول البیض مفتی ترچناپلی، مولوی محمد قدرت غنی ناظم عدلیہ حیدرآباد، مولوی محمد حیات خان، مولوی زین

العابدین، مولوی سید محمد مودودی معتمد صدر المہام عدالیہ حیدرآباد، مولوی سید بادشاہ قادری، مولوی محمد عبداللہ صدارت خان بہادر فرزند قاضی بدرالدولہ، مولوی قدرت رسول فرزند مولوی قدرت کریم بن حافظ قطب الدین احمد مذکور اور مولوی غلام ضامن وغیرہ انہی کے شاگردوں میں سے تھے۔

قاضی ارتضا علی خان بہادر عالم اور طبیب ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ اچھے شاعر بھی تھے۔ خوشنود تخلص کرتے تھے۔ لیکن شاعری کی طرف زیادہ توجہ نہیں کی۔ کبھی کبھی لطف صحبت کی خاطر شعر کہہ لیا کرتے تھے۔ جب نواب غلام غوث خان بہادر اعظم نے اپنا پہلا تذکرہ صبح وطن مرتب فرمایا تو قاضی صاحب سے ان کے حالات مانگے تھے۔ انھوں نے اپنے مختصر حالات لکھے جس کو من وعن صبح وطن میں نقل کردیا ہے۔ آخر میں اپنی شاعری کے متعلق اس طرح رقمطراز ہیں

«واین فقیر کہ اصلا حوصلہ شعر و شاعری ندارد گاہے در ہندی گاہے در فارسی وگاہے در عربی چیزے گفتہ وآن را بسبب ناموزونی اتفاق جمع نہ افتاد و آنچہ کہ در حافظہ باقی ماندہ می نویسد» (صبح وطن صفحہ ٦٧)۔

ان کے کچھ اشعار تو خود ان کی تصنیفات میں ملتے ہیں اور کچھ مختلف تذکروں میں پائے جاتے ہیں۔ ہم نتائج الافکار، صبح وطن اور تذکرہ گلزار اعظم کی مدد سے ان کے چند اشعار ہدیہ ناظرین کرتے ہیں۔

چشم آهو با همه شوخی شکار چشم تست
نرگس شهلا بمستی شرمسار چشم تست

کی نظر افتد بران گل چهره نازک بدن
هستی موهوم تو خوشنود خار چشم تست

* * * *

سوزش دل چه قیامت اثری پیدا کرد
ریخت اشکے که ز چشم شررے پیدا کرد

شد چناں سینه مشبك ز خدنگ تو که دل
بهر نظاره زهر رخنه درے پیدا کرد

تا تو از میکده رفتی به هوایت ز حباب
می بمینا همه تن چشم ترے پیدا کرد

قصد صید دل ما بود که صیاد ازل
چون تو نازك بدنی خوش کمرے پیدا کرد

واے بر بیے کسی این دل شوریده که یار
داشت ربطیکه باو باد گرے پیدا کرد

عجبی نیست اگر جوهر قابل گردد
آنکه جا در دل سنگش قدرے پیدا کر

نیست خوشنود سزاوار ملامت ناصح
دل و جان باخت بعشق و هنرے پیدا کرد

* * * *

از خستہ خود یاد نہ آری عجب از تو
کشتی و بخاکش نہ سپاری عجب از تو

باشی ہمہ شب دست بآغوش رقیباں
پاہم بسر من نگذاری عجب از تو

کس نیست کہ از دست جفاے تو نہ نالد
با ایں ہمہ غوغا بکناری عجب از تو

با ایں کہ شد از صید تو صحرا ہمہ پر خون
تا حال تو مفتون شکاری عجب از تو

خوشنود ازانجا بہ چہ کار آمدہ بودی
مشغول درین جا بہ چہ کاری عجب از تو

* * * *

تا تو رفتی از کنارم اے بہار زندگی
می خلد در سینہ ام ہر لحظہ خار زندگی

زاد راہ آخرت ہیہات جز حسرت نماند
باختم نقد عمل را در قمار زندگی

پاس انفاست حیات جاوداں بخشد ترا
ہست با تار نفس وابستہ تار زندگی

* * * *

محو دیدار باش تا باشی
نقش دیوار باش تا باشی

خاك برفرق خواب غفلت ریز
چشم بیدار باش تا باشی

سنگ راه است کاروبار جهاں
فارغ از کار باش تا باشی

چرخ زن گرد نقطه وحدت
همچو پرکار باش تا باشی

دوری لحظه آفت است وعذاب
همدم و یار باش تا باشی

ارتضا دل بیار ودست بکار
دار و هشیار باش تا باشی

* * * *

چند رباعیات ملاحظه هوں:

اے چرخ ز کوے دوست راندی ما را
در زاویه الم نشاندی ما را
دانسته نبودم آنچه کردی بامن
هیهات بگو کجا رساندی ما را

* * * *

بر خیز ز خواب می رود عمر ز دست
بر گیر حساب میرود عمر ز دست
خوشنود دمی بسوگواری بنشیں
با چشم پر آب میرود عمر ز دست

* * * *

آہم آئینۂ جمال تو بود
عالم همه مظهر کمال تو بود
آنکس که نکرد نفس خود را ادراك
کی محرم محفل وصال تو بود

SARFI

By

Prof. N. L. K. Talib

Mawlana Sheikh Ya'qub Ganai "Sarfi" commonly known as Ishan Sahib in Kashmir was one of the most notable and prominent poets whom Kashmir has produced. He enjoyed international repu-tation as a scholar of outstanding merit, a versatile writer, a mystic, and an authority on religious matters. Prof. Tayyab Shah Siddiqi in his comprehensive discourse[1] on "Sarfi" says that the title "Ganai" according to some historians, is derived from two Sanskrit words 'Gan' and 'ai' which mean a 'scribe' or 'secretary' and that this title was conferred on some members of his family by the Shahmiri kings. This statement appears to be rather doubtful as there is no authorita-tive evidence to support it. Moreover, the title "Ganai" is not peculiar to "Sarfi's" family alone. It forms part of the family name of some other people also. For instance, the father of a contemporary poet—Sheikh Baba Daud "Khaki" was also known as Sheikh Hasan Ganai and this title is attached to the family name of certain other classes of Muslims where it is devoid of any such significance.

Mawlana "Sarfi's" grandfather Bayazid Gani of the 'Asmi clan which traces its descent from 'Asim, a son of Caliph Umar Farooq, enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Zain-ul Abidin who gave him the title of "Amir,". Sheikh Ya'qub was the second among the seven sons of Bayazid's only son, Sheikh Hasan Ganai. He was born in 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.), and while still a child of seven, committed the Quran to memory and began to compose verse in Persian at the age of eight. He got these verses corrected by his father who also seems to have been well-versed in the art. "Sarfi" himself says :–

چودر سال هشتم نهادم قدم

ز طبعم رواں گشت شعر عجم

پدر کردے اصلاح اشعار من

به اصلاح بودے مددگار من

1. S. P. College, Seminar Discourses, May 1955.

"When I stepped into the eighth year, my poetic disposition
found expression in Persian verse.

"My father used to correct my verses and proved helpful to me."

In the beginning "Sarfi" learnt the art of composing enigmas from Mir Husain of Herat, son of Mir Haider the enigmatist, and wrote several treatises on this art. Later he became a pupil of Mawlana Mohammad "Ani" who himself was a pupil of the well-known Persian poet, Mawlana Abdur-Rahman "Jami". Dr. G. M. D. Sufi in his book entitled "Kashir" has confused "Ani" with "Aini" a poet of less importance and notorious for his outrageous behaviour, who did not recognise Mawlana "Jami" as a great poet and composed verses in refutation of his. Khwaja Abdul Hamid Irfani, a modern Persian writer of Pakistan in his recent work on the Persian poets of Kashmir entitled "Iran-i-Saghir" has closely followed Dr. Sufi without verifying facts and repeated the same mistake.

"Sarfi" picked up the art of verse-making, enigmatising and acrostics from Mawlana "Ani" for all of which he had developed a great taste in his early age and received some instruction from Mir Husain of Herat as already said above. In this connection he says :-

سپرد است آنگه مرا با یکے
که بوده است از اولیا بے شکے

محمد ورا نام وآنی لقب
زجامی گرفته فنون ادب

فن تعمیه بردم ازوے بکار
بنوعے که گشتم دراں نامدار

معما که فکریست نزد خرد
بدیهه همی گفتمے بے عدد

"He (father) then entrusted me to the care of one who undoubtedly
was one of the saints.

His name was Mohammad and his pen-name was "Ani".

He had received instruction in various branches of learning from
"Jami".

I picked up the art of enigmatizing from him in a way that I made
a name in this art, which indeed, in the eyes of the intelligent is
a profound one.

I also wrote innumerable extempore verses."

Mawlana "Ani" in view of the natural gifts of this young man, his precociousness, predicted his eminence as a literary figure and bestowed on him the title of "the Second Jami". On account of the special aptitude the Sheikh showed in grasping the intricacies of the Arabic and Persian grammar, Mawlana "Ani" proposed the pen-name of "Sarfi" for him which he readily adopted. Later still, he received further coaching in advanced grammar, rhetoric, logic and mysticism from Mulla Razi and Akhund Mulla Hafiz Basir of Khandabhawan, Srinagar. Of this he makes a mention in the following verses :

شدم در علوم دگر بهره گیر
ز ملا رضی و ز حافظ بصیر

من و والد من مربائے او
بجاں بندۂ خاص و مولائے او

ازو علم صوفیه آموختم
دقیقات عقلیه اندوختم

فن منطق و اصطلاح کلام
بدیهه و بیان و معانی تمام

رضی آں بسے شان وفضلش شگرف
مرا فقه آموخت و نحو و صرف

" In other sciences I benefitted from (the instruction of) Mulla
Razi and Hafiz Basir.

I and my father were his (Basir's) proteges and we were his
adherents devoted whole-heartedly to him.

I received lessons on mysticism from him and learnt intellectual
subtleties as well as the science of logic and terminology, the
art of improvisation, prosody and all literary styles.

Razi that grand personality possessed of rare accomplishments,
taught me theology, etymology and syntax."

"Sarfi" is said to have fallen into bad company for some time but it was not long before that he was set right by his father, who kept a strict watch over his conduct till he was reformed.

The Sheikh applied himself to studies with such devotion and assiduity that he surpassed his teachers who ungrudgingly acknowledged this fact. There is no doubt that he was a man of remarkable genius. He was, what is more, a man of high character and never stooped to employing his talent in flattering the rich to extract money from them or extolling those in power to achieve his own ends as Persian poets in general were wont to do. He, however, held his preceptors and teachers in great reverence.

After completing his education at home at the age of twenty he left Kashmir and for higher studies visited Sialkot, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Meshhad and other places. Ahmadabad seems to have had great attraction for him, being very much impressed by the beauty of its residents. He frequently refers to this fact. In one of his odes he says :-

به شهر احمدآباد است در هر کوچه بازارے
ولیکن نیست جز سودائے خوبان اهل سودا را

برو در احمدآباد و بهر جانب تماشا کن
اگر خواهی که بینی دلبران ماه سیما را

تماشائے بتان احمدآبادم تمنا بود
بحمد الله که ایزد کردم حاصل این تمنا را

" There is a market in every street of the city of Ahmadabad.
But lovers are not concerned with any transaction except that of bargaining with the beauties.
Go to Ahmadabad and enjoy a sight everywhere, if you want to see the moon-faced sweethearts.
I yearned to behold the beauties of Ahmadabad. Thank God, that He has fulfilled this wish of mine."

"Sarfi" also visited Samarqand with the object of receiving spiritual initiation from Makhdum Sheikh Husain in whose monastery he worked for some time as an attendant and returned home after he

was satisfied that his heart's desire had been fulfilled. According to Abdul Qadir Badayuni he became the spiritual successor of the Sheikh to whom he refers thus :—

تعجب مکن گر مرا نیز پیر
در اندك زماں ساخت روشن ضمیر

چه روشن ضمیرے که روئے زمین
شد از پرتوم روشنائی گزیں

" Wonder not, if in a short time, I have been converted into a man of an enlightened mind by the Pir.

What a clear-visioned person I became ! The whole world sought reflection from my light."

Sheikh Ya'qub also visited most of the Arab countries and Khorasan. While in India he met Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi, better known as Mujaddid-i-Alf Sani, who, it is said, received instruction in Hadith (Traditions) from him. He had frequent intercourse with him and Sheikh Salim Chisti and exchanged views with them on the mystic systems of the Kubraviya and Chistiya disciplines. In consequence of this and the vast experience he gathered in the field of temporal, secular and spiritual knowledge after coming in contact and holding discussions with scholars and saints of different ways of thinking and diverse faiths in the course of his extensive travels, he became an adept and proved to be an unrivalled exponent of the various systems of disciplines. In recognition of the mastery that he attained over all these, he was called "Jami'-ul Kamalat" (Embodiment of Accomplishments) by his contemporaries.

On his return home, people in large numbers flocked to him to receive his blessings. Some time later he again left for Samarqand to meet his spiritual teacher and, finding that he had left for Mecca, he followed to join him there and was thus successful in acquiring the honour of performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places of Islam. Apart from being granted diplomas for his proficiency in the knowledge of the Traditions and jurisprudence by the greatest Islamic scholars of those days, such as Mawlana Abdul Aziz, Sheikh Mohammad Husain and Sheikh Fatha Ullah, he received from the renowned Sheikh Ibn Hajr Makki, the great teacher of Hadith, the

necessary 'Ijaza' (licence) to give instructions in the Traditions of the Prophet. Here he also became well-versed in the writings of Ibn-ul-Arabi.

"Sarfi" is said to have founded an educational institute at Gupkar, Srinagar, where he and his brother imparted knowledge to scholars for some time. His residential house was situated on the left bank of the river Jhelum, where he is said to have stocked a huge library after collecting many rare and valuable books from various parts of Asia on different subjects such as theology, history, jurisprudence, mysticism and art and literature. The number of volumes including the works of the Mawlana himself, is estimated at more than fifteen thousand. On the basis of some information to which he does not refer Prof. Siddiqi asserts [1] that the house of the Mawlana was set on fire by the capricious Chak ruler when the Mawlana was away on his annual tour at Bandipur, and all the books were reduced to ashes. Only a few copies of his works that had been copied out earlier by some of his friends and deciples have been preserved and have come down to us.

When Sheikh Ya'qub returned home from the last tour outside Kashmir, he was grieved to find the country in a state of chaos and turmoil and divided into factions on account of internecine feuds. He left for Akbarabad in the company of Sheikh Baba Daud "Khaki", who held the Chak rulers responsible for misrule and after seeking Akbar's aid against them, was, along with the Baba, instrumental in helping the emperor to subdue Kashmir.

Mawlana "Sarfi" was held in great esteem by his contemporaries. Abdul Qadir Badayuni says: "The late king Humayun and the reigning emperor Akbar had great faith in him and honoured him by granting audience. They regarded him with gracious favour. He was held in much esteem and was much honoured. He was illustrious and relied upon as an authority on all branches of learning which are treated of Arabic, such as Quranic commentaries, the Traditions of the Prophet and Sufiism and was an authorised religious leader." Abul Fazl considers him the greatest authority on religious matters. In the "Ain-i-Akbari" he says: "In all types of poetry he is a maste, and is an adept both in exoteric and esoteric learning and knowledge, has travelled far and wide and met innumerable saints, scholarsr eminent and illustrious personages and combines in himself all the extrinsic qualities and virtues." According to the author of **Dabistan** he was a spiritual guide of the age.

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(1) Ibid.

Mawlana's works :-

Prose :-

1. **Matlabut Talibin :** A commentary in Arabic of some chapters of the Quran. It is incomplete.

2. **Sharh :** A commentary on Sahih Bukhari.

3. **Manasikul Haj** : It deals with the ceremonies, rites and rituals pertaining to Haj.

4. **Tawzih-u-Talwih :** A commentary on Sa'd-ud-Din Taftazani's work on Islamic Jurisprudence.

5. **Sharh** : A commentary on Arba'in (Forty sayings of the Prophet) in praise of Hazrat 'Ali and also on another Arba'in (Forty sayings) in praise of the other three Caliphs. The Mawlana also translated the eighty sayings into Persian verse.

6. **Kunzul Jawahir** : A treatise in Persian on the art of acrostics. A transcribed copy of the MS is with the Research Department of Kashmir.

7. **Yad-i-Baiza** : Another treatise on the above subject.

8. A commentry on **Thulathiyati Bukhari** : The most authentic sayings of the Prophet.

9. An introduction in Arabic on Faizi's **Tafsir** (undotted commentary on the Quran) entitled **Swatiul Ilham** : It is a masterpiece of literature.

10. **Rawaih** (Fragrances) : A book in Persian on mysticism written after the model of Lawaih. Unlike Lawaih which is written more or less in a florid style, its language is very simple and easy. A copy of the MS exists in the Research Department, Srinagar.

Poetry :

1. **Dewan-i-Sarfi** : A collection of the poet's odes, fragments and quatrains. It contains 839 ghazals, 27 fragments, and about a hundred quatrains. Apart from some MS copies which are said to be found in some libraries of

India and Europe, the Kashmir Research Dapartment has procured a copy which was transcribed in 1269 A.H. His lyrics as well as quatrains can be favourably compared with those of some of the early well-known poets of Iran. He employs fresh similies and metaphors in abundance and makes use of rhetorical artifices to embellish his verse, and all these are elegant, lucid and full of charm. The following verses taken at random from the Dewan may give an idea of the quality of his lyrical verse :-

در صد هزار آئنه یك اوست جلوه گر

در هرچه بینم آں رخ نیکوست جلوه گر

خلقے بہر طرف شده سرگشته بہر دوست

ویں طرفه تر که دوست بہر سوست جلوه گر

" In all the hundred thousand mirrors
it is the One that in splendour shines ;
In whatever I see and wherever I look,
it is the Face of Him that in beauty shines.
I see people in all directions bewildered in search of
Him ; while the wonder of it is that he is
manifest everywhere.

مشکن اے غم دل مارا و مبین که آں دل کیست

دل ما هست ولے بیں که درو منزل کیست

" Break not my heart, O Grief ! Nor see
whose heart it seems to be.
The heart is mine 'tis true, but look !
who dwells within.

ز ضعف تن عجب حال است بیمار محبت را

که نتواند کشید از ناتوانی بار صحت را

" Strange is the state of him
worn out and sick in love.
He is too thin and weak
to carry the burden of health.

بر رخ فگند چاشتگاه آں مه نقاب را
پیش از زوال شام رسید آفتاب را

" When morning came, she veiled a face as lovely as the moon ;
Twilight, it seemed, had seized the sun not waiting till the moon.

از توتیا مپرس از آں خاك در بپرس
خاصیتش ز مردم صاحب نظر بپرس

" Ask not collyrium, if you will
Make bright and clear your eyes :
Ask only for the dust that lies
About her door. To tell its virtue ask the wise.

هم ز دل‌دز دیده صبر و هم دل دیوانه را
یار من با خانه مے دزدد متاع خانه را

" All patience from my heart my love first stole,
And then my heart's infatuated whole -
Bold thief ! he stole the house itself,
Besides the silver from the shelf.

خالت از مکر براں گوشهٔ ابرو بنشست
هرکجا گوشه نشینے هست درو مکرے هست

" The mole that near your eyebrows lurks
Is waiting to ensnare our feet ;
Whoever lurks in corners so;
Is always fullest of deceit.

قاتل ابرو کمانم دارد از مژگاں خدنگ
کشته خوبان جهان را دیدم آخر زاں خدنگ

" So fierce and sure a target they make
that the beloveds of the world, I see,
have fallen a victim and died."

Here are five more verses taken from one of his odes:-

زرشك دامن اوچاك خواهم زد گریباں را
كه گستاخانه پامی بوسد آں سلطان خوباں را

ز رخسار بتے نور الهی جلوه گر دیدم
كه كافر را مسلماں سازد وكافر مسلمان را

دل من خوار وزار افتاده در شهر نكو نامست
دریں كشور مگر حرمت نمی دارند مهمان را

غبار خاطرت را غیر ازیں موجب نمی دانم
كه جاروب سر كوئے تو چشمم ساخت مژگاں را

اگر دریابد آں لذت كه دارد آب شمشیرت ؛
بكام خود خضر هرگز نخواهد آب حیوان را

"I would fain rend asunder my collar while feeling envious of her skirt
which impudently kisses the feet of that Queen among the beloveds.
I saw Divine light manifest in the face of a beloved that converts
an infidel into a Muslim and a Muslim into an infidel.
My heart is lying in an object and humiliated state in the city of good name,
It seems that no reverence is shown to a guest in this domain.
I do not know the cause of disturbance of thy mind except that
my eyes made broom of eyelashes for thy street.
If Khizr were to experience the relish possessed by the lustre of thy sword,
he would never think of drinking the Water of Immortality."

Here is one of his quatrains :—

اے بادیہ پیمائے رہ کعبۂ گل

از فیض وفتوح کعبۂ دل غافل

ایں کعبۂ تو بود برب الکعبہ

یک کہنہ رباطے بہ رہ کعبۂ دل

"O pilgrim on the desert-path of the K'aba,
ignorant of the bounties and gains of the K'aba of thy heart,
Dost not see ? in the eyes of the Lord of K'aba
the K'aba of thy pilgrimage is but a wayside inn on the road
to the K'aba of thy heart.

2. **Khamsa** - (Quintet), five mathnawis written after the model of Jami's mathnawis and consisting of the following books :

(a) **Maslak-ul Akhyar :** It contains an account of the twenty interviews the Mawlana had with his spiritual teacher wherein the latter explained to him the principles and doctrines of mysticism. It consists of 4053 verses and was composed in 903 A.H. (1585 A.D.). There is a MS copy of it in the Government Research Department.

(b) **Wamiq-u-Azra :** It is a romance and gives the love story of Prince Wamiq of Yemen, who goes on a hunting expedition and there happens to see 'Azra, daughter of the Prince of Iconium, their reciprocal love at first sight and their tragic end. It consists of 3640 verses and was also composed in 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.). It is written in an elegant style and does not fall short of other mathnawis on similar subjects written by other standard poets of Persia. The Research Department possesses a MS copy of this book also.

(c) **Laila Majnun :** It is also a romantic mathnawi written in imitation of the mathnawis of the same name composed by several well-known poets. It was composed in 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.).

(d) **Maqamat-i-Murshid** : This book deals with the different stages through which a mystic has to pass to reach his goal. It consists of 3600 verses and was composed in 994 A.H.

(e) **Maghazi-an Nabi** : It gives a description of the adventures of the Prophet and his activities about the propagation of Islam. The book contains about 3380 verses and was composed in 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.)

Besides, "Sarfi" has also left behind a collection of Qasidas of a didactic nature.

It is not possible in a short paper like this to discuss the literary merits of each of his works nor is it possible to present here specimens from them. Since there is abundant material available about the biography of the Sheikh, both from his own writings and those of his contemporaries, it should not be difficult for a scholar of Persian and Arabic to edit these books and to introduce "Sarfi" to the literary world.

Apart from the MSS obtained by the Research Department and other copies of his works that exist in some libraries outside Kashmir, some local families of Kashmiri Muslims have also preserved them till the present day. The general impression prevailing in our part of the country is that none of " Sarfi's " works except Maghazi-un Nabi has been published so far. Even those who have succeeded in collecting some details about his life and works, including Professor Siddiqi and Dr. Sufi, who have tried to give a fairly comprehensive account of the poet, have failed to discover that his romantic book "Wamiq-u-'Azra" was lithographed at Lucknow in 1889 A.D. and that a copy of it exists in the British Museum as shown in its catalogue of the Persian printed books. A copy of this is also to be found in the S.P. College Library, Srinagar. Besides, one of his prose works "Rawaih" (already noticed above) has also been published by Hasan Shah Gadayari, Srinagar, after prefixing an introduction to it.

The Mawlana passed away in 1003 A.H. (1594 A.D.) and was buried in Mahalla Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. His tomb is known as Ziarat-i-Ishan Sahib.

WASIL KASHMIRI

By

Dr. Md. Shamoon Israeli

Visualisation of places and periods very often brings in its trail a number of concomitant objects. When Srinagar, the heart of the verdant Kashmir valley was fixed up as the site of the 'All India Oriental Conference' and the fact was conveyed to me, a whole galaxy of Kashmiri poets and literateurs sprang up before my imagination and I thought it worthwhile to introduce to the literary world a poet who, being buried in the pages of time, has not been able to raise his head in order to win approbation from the literary quarters, and since according to Mirza Saib, so near and dear to you :

چراغ خلوت جان روشنائی سخن ست

بهار زنده دلان آشنائی سخن ست

The luminosity of the word sets the solitude
of the soul alight, and the familiarity of
words brings spring to the sprightly.

And according to your most beloved poet, Ghani Kashmiri :

آب بود معنی روشن غنی

خوب اگر بستہ شود گوہرست

O ! Ghani ! the lustrous meaning is like
(a drop of) water, and is transmuted
into a pearl if dressed up gracefully.

I, therefore, thought it proper to give a coherent and integrated account of a Kashmiri poet and hence began to comb the stacks of the manuscript section of the University library to find out a poet who had escaped the gaze of the penetrating eye of the researcher and who, simultaneously, deserves to be placed in the forefront of eminent poets. The well-known Habibganj collection came to my rescue and I succeeded in recovering the Diwan of a Kashmiri poet who will be introduced in the following few lines.

The poet is known as Wasil Kashmiri and his name and reputation have been preserved through a very rare collection of his lyrics and quatrains which form part of the Habibganj collection of Mss. Neither the invaluable historical evidence contained in the pages of the Diwan nor the biographers, contemporary or otherwise, have cared to mention the place and date of the birth of the poet. The author of Makhzanul-Gharaib[1] only mentions him as Wasil Kashmiri, while the compiler of Subh-i-Gulshan[2] merely says:

واصل از سنجیده طبعان کشمیر بود

Wasil was from among the judiciously tempered people of Kashmir.

I could not find references to the poet in any other biographica work of note. The internal evidence of the verses helps us to supplement the statements of the biographers regarding the poet's native soil to the following extent:

ز عمری داده ام دلرا بکشمیری پسر شوخی
رخم زان یك چمن رنك بهار زعفران دارد

In my life-time I have offered my heart
to a jovial Kashmiri lad, and hence my
face resembles a meadow of saffron in
full bloom.

Again:

این سر شك سرخ بر رخسار زرد عاشقان
کاروانهای یمن محمل کش کشمیر شد

These blood-shot tears on the yellow
cheeks of the lovers look like; the
Yemenite caravans riding on the
Kashmiri litters.

---

1. Makhzanul-Gharaib (Habibganj Ms.) F 503 B.
2. Subh-i-Gulshan (Shahjahani Press) P. 580.

Again :

زعفران زار شده کوچه وبازار وچمن

پای کشمیر بهند آبله دار است امروز

The lanes, the market-place and the meadow abound in saffron ; the foot of Kashmir is afflicted with blisters in India to-day.

Again :

بیاد زعفرانی پوش خود از بسکه خون خوردم

ز موج اشك در کشمیر رنك زرد ماند از من

I have experienced afflictions to such an imminense degree in the memory of saffron-roled that sallow colour has settled down in Kashmir because of the wave of my tears.

These repeated references to Kashmir and its peculiarly characteristic saffron, unlike other poets, lends strength to the testimony of the native soil of the poet being none else than Kashmir.

As regards the precise or even probable date of the poet's birth, we are in the dark. We can simply conclude from certain facts and assumptions. The earliest historical reference which I have been able to trace alludes to the date of the composition of a lyric. The relevant line is as follows :

یکصد ویکهزار وچل چار دگر زهجردان

واصل اگر ازین سخن سال تمام بشمری

Since many references to the Mughal .Courts of Shahjahanabad exist in the Diwan of the poet, hence it is a proof positive of the fact that the poet did not probably stay long in his native place and that he might have migrated to Shahjahanabad almost in his youth. The following facts are, therefore, borne out from the line quoted above :

1. The poet must have migrated from Kashmir to Shahjahanabad before the year 1144 A.H. (1731 A.D.).

2. The maturity of the verses, which form part of the lyric whose solitary line has been quoted above, shows that the poet should have been at an advanced stage of youth when he migrated to Shahjahanabad.
3. Muhammad Shah was the reigning Mughal king when Wasil came over to Shahjahanabad.

The many references to the ministers and dignitaries of the Mughal Court in the Diwan reveal that the poet was associated with the court even during the life-time of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II who was murdered by Imadul-Mulk, the minister, on 29th November 1759[1]. Since there are several references to Imadul-Mulk in the Diwan, hence it can be presumed that Imadul-Mulk was the last among the patrons of the poet. Wasil must have been, therefore, an eye-witness of the changing fortunes of the Mughal Royalty namely, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II. Again, no precise date of the death of the poet is available. We can simply presume that the poet died at an advanced age after the expiry of the term of the Wizarat held by Imadul-Mulk who ceased to be a wazir practically after the murder of Alamgir II. Jadunath Sarkar says :

> 'He (Imadul-Mulk) in utter desperation murdered his master Alamgir II (29-11-1759). The reign ended and with it Imad's office as wazir, though he desperately clung to the name for some years after.' [2]

The poet, however, did of course, migrate to Shahjahanabad when Muhammad Shah was the reigning Mughal king, for the earliest historical reference in the Diwan is regarding the murder of the wazir of Muhammad Shah namely Qamruddin entitled Itimadud-Daulah II, son of Mohammad Amin Khan Qamruddin who died while he was preparing to fight against Ahmad Shah Abdali's forces. His death has been described by Jadunath Sarkar in the following lines :

> 'In the morning of the appointed day (11-3-1748) all the divisions of the Delhi army got ready. The wazir was to have issued on his elephant and led the attack. He had nearly finished his morning prayer and recitals when a cannon ball struck the ground outside his tent, rebounded over the wall and falling inside wounded him mortally in the waist.' [3]

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire : Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. II. P. 14.
2. Fall of the Mughal Empire : Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. II. P. 14.
3. Fall of the Mughal Empire: Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. I. Pp. 222-23.

Our poet has composed a full threnody together with the chronogram on this unfortunate accident. Some of the lines are as follows:

آه از جفای این فلك تیره زشت رای
هرگز نشد هیچ یك عافیت گرای

چون اعتماد دولت شاهی شد از جهان
از نه فلك بلند شد آواز وای وای

وا حسرتا که قافله سالار راه دین
بربست رخت خویش ازین کاروان سرای

اول ربیع بیست دویم صبحگاه جمع
از خویشتن جدا شده پیوست با خدای

از واقعه وزیر بواصل سروش غیب
گفتا بضرب گوله جان داد های های

The tyrannies of this dark and scurrilous firmament do not allow an individual to be inclined towards solace;

When the prop of the regal state forsook this world, woeful cries emanated from the nine firmaments;

What a regret that the leader of the caravan of the path of religion packed off from this caravanserai;

(It was) on the 22nd Rabiul-Awwal in the morning of Friday that (he) was joined with God forsaking himself;

The messenger angel from the Invisible, on this mishap of the minister, conveyed to Wasil;

The minister gave away his life as a result
of the striking of the cannon-ball ;

The fact that the last line refers to the death of the minister, Qamruddin Itimaduddaulah II is borne out by the chronogram of بضرب گوله جان داد های های which chronologically comes to 1160 A.H., corresponding with early 1748 A.D. and according to the historians, Qamruddin breathed his last on 11-3-1748 A.D. Thus we see that Wasil started his life at the Mughal Court under Muhammad Shah with his minister, Qamruddin as his patron. The next reference in the verses of the poet alludes to Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk who held the next important position of the Army Chief. Jadunath Sarkar says :

> " After Nadir Shah's departure, Qamruddin Itimadud-daulah was the wazir or chancellor as before. The office, next in importance, namely, that of the army chief, Mir Bakhsh with the title of Amirul-Umara, had been recently bestowed upon Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk, a cousin of the wazir. Both of them continued at these posts during the remainder of the reign of Muhammad Shah." [1]

The only reference to Asaf Jah in the poet's Diwan is the following verse :

رقم کردم ز آصف جاه واصل مصرع رنگین
خیال کشتن من کرد دست او حنائی شد

O Wasil, I composed an ornate hemistich
through Asaf Jah ; He thought of my
murder and his hands became dyed with
henna.

This verse, however, does not clearly depict that Asaf Jah was also one of the patrons of our poet.

Next in order of precedence come the two sons of Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk, namely Ghaziuddin, the eldest and Nasir Jang, the second son of Asaf Jah. Ghaziuddin appears to be one of the patrons of the poet, for the latter has written several verses in the former's praise e.g., the following lines :

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1. Fall of the Mughal Empire : Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. I. P. 15.

آن سپه سالار هندوستان وفیروزی نشان
رستم از یك حمله اش گوید بمیدان الامان

غازی دین حامی اسلام وعالم را پناه
ذات پاك او عماد ملك شاه کامران

غازی الدین خان بهادر صفدر فیروز جنگ
فخر با ذاتش کند شاهنشه هندوستان

یافت واصل سال تاریخ مبارك خدمتش
بخشی اقلیم هند از هاتف غیب اللسان

That Commander of the forces of India whose ensign is victory and whose solitary onslaught forces Rustum to cry for quarter;

The Ghazi of the religion, the defender of Islam and the refuge of the world; whose august personage is the prop of the Kingdom of the victorious king;

Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur, Safdar-i-Firuz Jang, whose personality is the object of pride for the emperor of India;

Wasil found the chronogram of his auspicious service from 'Bakhshi-i-Iqlim-i-Hind' through the mysterious voice of the invisible speaker.

This would show that Wasil was associated with Ghaziuddin as early as 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.), when Ghaziuddin was associated with the court of Muhammad Shah, that is, even earlier than his association with Qamruddin, the minister of Muhammad Shah. The poet, however, continued to be associated with the royal court even after the death of Muhammad Shah (1748), when Ghaziuddin came to hold important offices under the Mughal King, Ahmad Shah. Ghaziuddin had been appointed chief paymaster, with the title of Amirul-Umara and invested with the Subahdari of Agra on 7th June 1751 A.D. He was further appointed the Subedar of the Deccan on 21st January

1751 after the death of his younger brother, Nasir Jang on 5th Dec. 1750, but never left the court. Jadunath Sarkar says:

> " Intizam's sister had been married to Ghaziuddin the eldest son of the Nizam Asaf Jah. His father had held the office of Mir Bakhshi (from 1739 to his death in 1748) and he looked upon it as his birth-right. By a shrewd stroke of policy, Javid Khan caused the Chief Paymastership to be given to Ghaziuddin Khan with the title of Amirul-Umara, and the Subahdari of Agra (7th June 1751)."[1]

The second son of Asaf Jah namely Nasir Jang does not appear to be the patron of our poet, for the only reference to Nasir Jang is regarding his unhealthy relations with his father. The relevant lines are as follows:

پسران با پدر آیند چو در گستاخی
زان فلك را هم با داغ جگر می بینم
باورت نیست گر این قصه به بین ناصر جنگ
شوخ و بد خواه و مخالف به پدر می بینم
واصل این سال حسابش ز لسان غیب است
هیچ مهری نه پسر را به پدر می بینم

When the sons behave impudently towards their father, I find the firmament full of remorse because of it;

If you do not believe in this story, have a look at Nasir Jang who is impudent, malevolent and inimical towards his father.

O Wasil, this year has been calculated through the tongue of the Invisible, that 'I find no love between father and son'.

This chronogram comes to 1156 A.H., corresponding with 1743 A.D., hence this animosity of the son towards his father refers to the period when Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk was the Chief Paymaster at the Court of Muhammad Shah.

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1. Fall of Mughal Empire: J. Sarkar, Vol. I pp. 348 & 358.

Our poet continued to be attached to the Mughal Court even after the death of Qamruddin Itimaduddaulah II, the minister of Muhammad Shah, as we have already seen. Safdar-Jang succeeded Qamruddin as minister and since the former was a Persian and Shia by faith, hence we find our poet composing some threnodies on the martyrdom of Hasnain. In fact the Mughal Court, at this time, was the scene of conflict between two warring factions, the Turanis and the Persians. Jadunath Sarkar refers to the same in the following words:

> 'Itimadud-Daulah II, as became an emigrant from Samarkand, was the patron of the Turanis, while his rivals and enemies perforce joined the opposite party, composed of the Persians, whose leadership (in 1739) was taken by Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, the Subedar of Oudh. And the history of the later Mughals, from 1736 onwards is only the history of the duel between these parties.'[1]

The relevant lines regarding the martyrdom of Hasnain are as under:

ز شمشیر که خندد اینقدر زخم فلك بنگر
که رنگ خون بر آمد آفتاب امروز از خاور

چه بیدادیست ای گردون دون شرمت نمی آید
بخاك وخون طپد نعش شهید کربلا بیسر

مگر روز قیامت آشکارا گشت در عالم
که بر یك نیزه همچون آفتابست آن مبارك سر

مگر ز اب فرات آن ظالمان تیغ جفا شستند
برنگ خون برون می آید ازچشمه صدف گوهر

بمیدان جفای کربلا گر تشنه لب میرم
بود از شربت لطف حسین آخر گلویم تر

بود یارب ز خورشید قیامت بر سر واصل
پناه سایهٔ دامان پاك آل پیغمبر

1. Fall of the Mughal Empire: J. Sarkar, Vol. II. p. 13.

Look ! whose sword has ripped the wound of the firmament open, for the sun has appeared blood-shot from the East to-day;

What an oppression, O mean firmament, are you not ashamed that the corpse of the martyr of Kerbala rolls headless in dust and blood;

Perhaps Dome's day has dawned in this world, for that sacred head is suspended on the point of a lance like the Sun.

Probably the tyrants have washed their swords in the waters of the Euphrates, for the pearl comes out of the eye of the oyster dipped in blood.

If I die thirsty in the oppressed field of Kerbala, my throat would be moistened with the syrup of the favours of Husain.

O God, the shadow of the sacred skirt of the sons of the prophet may be there for me to protect me from the burning sun of the reckoning day.

Although I might say that the sentiments expressed in the aforementioned lines are not foreign to every orthodox Muslim, but this abrupt departure from versification in praise of the Mughal Royalty to composing verses in praise of the martyrs of Kerbala, may have been dictated by the presence of a Shia minister at the Mughal Court.

The next important historical reference in the poet's Diwan is towards Imadul Mulk. Before I quote the relevant lines I may refer to what Mr. Jadunath Sarkar has to say about Imadul-Mulk. He says:

'Imadul Mulk possessed the greatest organising power, penetrating intellect and iron-will of any man then living.' [1]

On another occasion Mr. Sarkar says:

'The greatest blunder of Safdar Jang was the promotion of young Imadul-Mulk to the highest power and dignity (namely Mir Bakhshi) in ignorance of human character.' [2]

(1) Fall of the Mughal Empire: J. Sarkar, Vol. I, P. 443,
(2) Ibid, P. 453.

Mr. Sarkar again says :

'His (Ghaziuddin's) young son, Shihabuddin coached by his tutor, Aqibat Mahmud Kashmiri, at once went to Safdar Jang's house (on the death of his father on 29th October 1752) and wept before him bitterly.

When the days of mourning for Ghaziuddin were over, Safdar Jang took Shihabuddin to court and persuaded the reluctant emperor to appoint him Mir Bakhshi with the titles of Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur, Firuz Jang, Amirul-Umara Imadul-Mulk (12 December 1752) and later Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah.'[1]

Mr. Sarkar proceeds further and says :

'Imad, though a lad of fifteen only, was the deepest of plotters and averted all suspicion by professing to follow Safdar Jang, while his heart was set on overthrowing him. In the months following Safdar Jang's departure, the star of Imad was steadily in the ascendant. He was the organiser of the imperial victory, he was the vanquisher of Safdar Jang; he had, thereafter, subjugated the turbulent Jat population of the district south of the capital and Malhar Holkar was his constant ally. There was no noble in the empire who could stand against him'.[2]

Such was the last patron of our poet and the following lines in his praise are noteworthy :

دوستانت خنده رو چو آفتاب
دشمنت چو چرخ سر گردان بود
کشور چین وختن هم شام وروم
زیر فرمانت چو هندستان بود
ای عماد الملك فیروزی نشان
صبح دولت از درت خندان بود
آستانت باب فیض عالم است
از درت هر مشکلی آسان بود

(1) Ibid, P. 455 (2) Ibid Pp. 464 & 523.

از شمار سال این عید الضحی
گفت واصل دشمنت قربان بود

Your friends smile like the Sun and your enemies feel stupefied like the firmament;

May the countries of China, Tartary as well as Syria and Rome be subservient to you like India;

O Imadul Mulk, with the ensign of victory, may the dawn of fortune smile from your door;

Your threshold is the gateway of bounty of the world, and every difficulty is made easy through it;

Wasil has calculated the year of this Iduz-zoha and has found it دشمنت قربان بود equal to 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.)

Thus we find that Wasil was associated with Imadul Mulk even before the latter was promoted to the titles of Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur, Firuz Jang, Amirul-Umara, Imadul-Mulk in the year 1752 A.D.[1]

Some other lines in praise of Imadul Mulk are as follows:

ای صباح عید اضحی روز رخشان تو باد
سر فدای خاك راه کعبهٔ جان تو باد

هر اسیر امروز دارد تاج آزادی بسر
گردنم در زیربند طوق احسان تو باد

بادشاهت خواند نواب وفلك فیروز جنگ
این خطاب ودولت لازال در شان تو باد

May the dawn of Iduz-zoha be a resplendent day for you and the head may be sacrificed in the dust of the path of your Kaba-like soul;

(1) J. Sarkar's Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I P. 455.

Every captive has a crown of liberty on his head to-day, may my neck be tied to the necklace of your bounty ;

The King calls you Nawab while the firmament remembers you as Firuz-Jang ; may this title and fortune remain immortal in your favour.

Thus Imadul Mulk continued to hold his post even some years after the murder of Alamgir II on 29th November 1759 as would appear from the following statement of Jadunath Sarkar :

'He (Imadul Mulk) in utter desperation murdered his master Alamgir II (29-11-1759). The reign ended and with it Imad's office as wazir, though he desperately clung to the name for some years after.'[1]

There is no trace either in the Diwan or in the contemporary Tadhkirahs about the last days of the poet. The poet appears to have retired from the court life and led a life of solitude. Quite a large number of the poet's verses shows that the poet was an extremely religious person, nay a sufi, who had tremendous faith in the great sufi of Gilan. Out of the many verses in praise of the sufi of Gilan, the following are noteworthy :

هست مسجود ملایك نقش پای غوث دین

سرمه از خاکش بچشم اشکبارم آرزوست

The foot-prints of Ghaus-i-din are worshipped by the angels, and I aspire to use the dust (under his feet) as collyrium for my tearful eyes.

Again :

دمی رحمی کن ای شاه جیلان بر من مسکین

که می نالم بکویت شب همه شب چون سگان آخر

O king of Gilan, have pity on me, an indigent, for I groan in your lane, night after night, like the dogs.

(1) Fall of the Mughal Empire : J. Sarkar, Vol. II, P. 14.

The poet again makes a reference to his faith in the great Sufi of Gilan in the following words:

واصل از پاك اعتقاديها مپرس

شيرمردم گرسگ جيلان شوم

> O Wasil, do not ask (me) about the purity of the faith; I shall be a hero if I become a dog of Gilan.

Verses from the poet's Diwan can be multiplied to show the faith of the poet in the Sufi of Gilan, who is by far the most respected among the Sufis. The poet is further enomoured of another saint, Khwajah Ahmad-i-Gaisu Daraz, who is held in great esteem by the Chishti sect among the Sufis. One of the relevant lines is as follows:

بگذاشت نقشبندی این ننگ ونام را

دیوانه تا بحلقه گیسودراز شد

> The frantic has said good-bye to the impression of notability and notoriety, since he has enrolled himself as one of the disciples of Gaisu-Daraz.

The poet is probably the disciple of a Sufi whose name appears twice in the Diwan, that is Shah-i-Ahmad Kungur whom I have not been able to decipher. The two occasions are as follows:

خاك نقش پای حضرت شاه احمد توتیاست

زان ملك مالند چشم خویش بر مژگان ما

> The dust of the foot-prints of Shah Ahmad is collyrium-like and hence the angels rub their eyes against our eye-lashes.

Again:

حلقه در گوش سگان شاه احمد کنکرم

واصل با دوست آن عالی جنابم کرده است

I am one of the devotees of the dogs of the (court of) Shah Ahmad Kungur; that lofty personage has linked me with the friend.

There are numerous verses in the Diwan which point to the sufistic leanings of the poet, and bear out that the poet possessed a very high sense of moral rectitude. The following examples are noteworthy :

هرکرا از حلقهٔ تجرید افسر بر سر است

تاج شاهی زیر پایش همچو نعل اشتراست

Whosoever has a ring of solitude as crown over his head, (for him) the kingly crown is under his feet like the camel-shoe.

Again :

کسی کزهستی خود رفت بیرون

بعرش ولامکانش سیرگاه است

One who forsakes his (physical) existance, has his place of recreation at the throne of God and the Deity.

Again :

زاهد این کعبه ودیر است یکی

گر ترا معرفت جان باشد

O ascetic, this Kaba and the idol-temple are one and the same, provided you possess a spiritual insight.

Many more verses may be quoted to prove the poet's predilection towards the life of an ascetic or a sufi. This attitude, however, seems to have developed at the time when the decline of the Mughal Court ceased to attract the poet and the latter retired into solitude,

As regard the high sense of the poet's moral rectitude I may quote a verse or two :

مخور نانش اگر در میزبان چین در جبین بینی
گوارا نیست گر در لقمه کس موشود پیدا

If you find frown in the face of the host, do not partake of his bread, for if a hair appears in one's morsel, then the latter becomes unpalatable.

Again :

لب تر مکن ز قطرهٔ دریا بمنتے
خود پاس آبروی تو بہتر ز گوهراست

Do not incur the obligation of moistening the lips with a drop of the ocean ; Regard for self-respect is better than a pearl.

The poet has a deep sense of regard and respect for his native land and some of the verses are purely Indian in character. As regards his love for the native land he says :

شوخی مژگان بطراری زلفش کی رسد
صد صفاهاں باد قربان گرد هندستان ما

The jollity of the eye-lashes cannot compete the impudence of his ringlets :

Hundreds of Isfahan can be sacrificed around our Hindustan.

Again :

سروکاری ندارم با بتان اصفهان واصل
سر سوادی با زلف بت هندوستان دارم

O Wasil, I have no business to deal with the idols of Isfahan ; (for) I am bargaining with the ringlets of an idol Hindustan.

Again :

While referring to Shaykh Ali Hazin, the poet says :

یك حزین چه بود که تا آید بکفران نعمتی
صد صفاهاں یك نمکداں شد ز هندستان ما

> What to speak of one Hazin who proved to be ungrateful to the benefactor ! Hundreds of Isfahan have become a salt-cellar because of our India.

As regards the essentially Indian character of the verses, I may quote a few of them :

از بسنتی لباس مه رویان
قطعه هند زعفران زار است

> Because of the yellow apparel of the moon-faced beauties, the segment of India has become a saffron-field.

Again :

این برگ پان که از ته وبالاست سرخ وسبز
رنگ از لب مخطط خوبان گرفته است

> This betel-leaf which is red and green upside and inside respectively, has borrowed its colour from the comely lips of the beauties.

Apart from the historical references noted above, there are other references, too, which speak of the poet's knowledge about the art of writing and its best representation etc. The following are a few illustrations :

مگر ز حسن وجمال تو می رود سخنی
که رنگ باخته مانی چو نقش دیوار است

> Perhaps people are speaking of your beauty and elegance, for the pale Mani has become confounded (to hear of them).

Again :

خط یاقوت می توان گفتن
لب لعل وبنفشه زار خطت

Your ruby-lips and the violet-bed of downs in your cheek, may be likened to the hand-writing of yaqut.

Again :

بسکه در فکر سر زلف تو می پیچد بخود

کلك مانی موکشید وخامه بهزاد هم

It twists itself to such a degree because of the reflection of your amorous glance, that the pen of Mani as well as Bihzad have become faulty.

As regards references to poets, only three of them appear in the verses. One reference is to Sa'di, the other to Shaykh Ali Hazin and the third to Ghanimat. The relevant verses are as follows :

بقول سعدی شیریں تکلم

درازی شب از مژگان من پرس

In the words of Sadi, the silver-tongued, consult my eye-lashes regarding longevity of night.

يك حزين چه بود که تا آید بکفران نعمتی

صد صفاهان يك نمكدان شد ز هندستان ما

What to speak of one Hazin who proved to be ungrateful to the benefactor ; Hundreds of Isfahan have become a salt-cellar because of our India.

While referring to Ghanimat, the poet quotes a hemistich also from the former's Diwan :

گل يك مصرع از باغ غنيمت چيده ام واصل

گل داؤدی صبح وطن از خاك پنجابم

O Wasil, I have picked the rose of one hemistich from the flower-garden of Ghanimat ; I am the morning daisy and my native place is the soil of Punjab,

I cannot but conclude with some of the beautiful lines of the poet which have appealed to me immensely, and I am confident that this brief introduction would induce people of the right taste to delve deep into the Diwan and thus help in placing Wasil on the proper pedestal, namely, in the fore-front of the best poets produced by Kashmir :

با برهمن وبتکده وبت بچه پیچی
از بهر خدا باش دمی بت شکن خویش

Why do you feel afflicted because of Brahmin, idol-temple and the idol; for God's sake, break the idol (in your heart) for a moment.

گوهر مقصود واصل خود بخود آمد بکف
چون صدف در بحر دل سرفرو بردیم ما

We grasp the pearl of objective automatically, when we plunge out head into the ocean of the heart like oyster.

دانهای سبحه ای زاهد چه یکجا میکنی
غمزه اش آتش زند در خرمن پندارها

O ascetic, why do you arrange the beads of the rosary; his coquetry shall set fire to the harvest of conceits.

گرچه واصل این عبادت پیشگان خوبند لیک
مغفرت در جوش آید آخر از عصیان ما

O Wasil, although these worshippers are noble (as a class) but forgiveness is worked up to effervescence because of our sins.

دل هزاران تیشهٔ فرهاد دارد در بغل
از غم شیرین لبان خود کوهکن گردیده است

The heart possesses a thousand Farhad-like hatchets in its bosom; it has itself become a Kohkan because of the love of sweet-lipped.

آن در گوشی که می تابد قرآن عارضش
مشتری با ماه امشب همقرین گردیده است

The ear-ring which sparkles near his cheek indicates that the Jupiter and the moon have been coupled to-night.

سخن رنگین تراود از زبانش بر سر منبر
ز شاخ گل مگر واعظ بدست خود عصا دارد

Flowery language trickles down the tongue of the preacher on the pulpit; perhaps the preacher has a staff of flower-branch in his hand.

خط بر آوردی وصد شور قیامت بر خاست
این بهاریست که در عین خزان می باشد

Downs on your check appeared and a hundred fold commotion of Domesday was raked up; This is a spring which makes its advent in the heart of autumn.

I hope the few illustrations quoted above will bear me out that Wasil was a poet of note and I think I have done my duty as a student of Persian language and literature by introducing him to this distinguished audience.